THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

Jam provideo animo, velut qui, proximis littori vadis inducti, mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quicquid progreditur, in vastiorem me altitudinem, ac velut profundum invehi: et crescere pene opus, quod prima quæque perficiendo minui videbatur.

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THE

30 40 50

EUROPE

Poland

SARM

Kion

Quadi

Augusta Vindelicorum

Augsburg

Danube R.

Munich

Lentia

Lauriacum

Jurahum Salzburg

Campodunum Kempten

Lake of Constance

Brigantia

Genua

Inn R.

RHAETIA

NORICUM

Virodunum

Celtis

Cilla

Forum Julii

Trent

Brixia Brescia

Verona

VENETIA

Venice

Pola

Parma

Modena

Bologna

Ravenna

Arimini

Florence

Arnus R.

Urbigum

Cortona

Clusium

Perusia

Camarinum

Spoleto

Narnia

Amiternum

Aquila

ROME

Tyber R.

Ostia

Corfinium

Capua

Terracina

Mt. Angelo

Tifata

Fregellæ

Pontia

Liris R.

Garigliano

Benedictum

Caiatia

Neapolis

NAPLES

Saternum

Venusia

Brundusium

Tarentum

Manfredonia

Sipontum

Lucania

Thurii

Sybaris R.

Crotona

Consentia

Æolian Is.

Strongyle

Vulcano

Lipara

Panormus Palermo

Asteodes

SICILY

Messina

Mt. Etna

Rhegium

Catana

Syracuse

Pachynum Pr.

C. Passaro

Agrigentum

Gela

Hybla

Gaulos Gozzo

Melita Malta

Lipara

Corcyra Corfu

Nicopolis

Cephalonia

Zacynthus Zant

Patræ

Dyrrachium Durazzo

Lychnidus Achri

Scodra Scutari

Drin R.

Drilo R.

Lissus

Epidaurus

Ragusa

Issa

Pharus

Salona Spalatro

Jadera Zara

Arsia

Arsia R.

Tedanius R.

Tibiscus R.

Tyras

Sarmatian Jazyges

Parnathian Mountains

The ROYAL VILLAGE of ATTILA

DACIA inhabited by the GOTHS A.D. 270; by the HUNS A.D. 370

Getæ

Marisicus R.

Maros

Arcidava

Aquæ Herculis

Aquæ Calidæ

Buda

Aquincum

Arrabona

Carnuntum

Vindobona VIENNA

Mursa

Essek

Sirmium

Sarmizegethusa

Ulpia Trajana

Aiutum Ad Mutia

Trajans Bridge

Viminiacum

Margus

Bononia Widin

Ratiaria

Naissus Nyssa

Sardica Sophia

Scupi

Tauresium

Justiniana Prima

Stobi

Heraclea

Philippopolis

Hadrianople

Didymotychus

Berœa

Apollonia

Anchialus

Marcianopolis

Odessus

Varna

Dristra

Durostorus

Danube R.

Tomeswar on Baba

Trosmi

Peuce

Jassii

Jassy

Bender

Odessus

Ovilia

Hieracus R. Pruth

Danastri R. Neister

Hypanis R. Bog

Borysthenes Dnieper

Tyras R. Dniester

Axiacus R.

Ordessus R.

Ister R. Danube

Mt. Hæmus

Thracian Mountains

Rhodope Mts.

THRACE

MACEDONIA

THESSALIA

GRECIA

Salonica

Thessalonica

Pella

Edessa

Philippi

Trajanopolis

Amphipolis

Thasos

Sestus

The Hellespont Dardanelles

Abydus

Lampsacus

Cyzicus

Nicomedia Ismikmid

Scutari

Chalcedon

Heraclea Erekli

Salmydessus

Anchialus

Constantinople

The Bosphorus Thrysopolis

Propontis Sea of Marmora

Bithynium Claudiopolis

Germanicia

Cæsarea

Nice

Prusa BURSA

Scamander R.

Ida Mt.

Troy

Lemnos

Lesbos Mytilene

Phocæa

Magnesia

Pergamus

Thyatira

Hermus R.

Caicus R.

Rhyndacus R.

Mt. Olympus

Parthenius R.

Dorylæum

Corocondam

Kutaich

Amorium

Ancyra

Angora

Halys R.

Sangarius R.

Juliopolis

Gordium

Tavium

Pessinus

Mysia

Sardes

Smyrna

Philadelphia

Mt. Tmolus

Anemas R.

Antiochia

Iconium Konieh

Lycaonia

Cilicia

Tarsus

Sagalassus

Laodicea

Ephesus

Samos

Miletus

Aphrodisias

Mylasa

Stratonicea

Satalia

Attalia

Cibyra

Selga

Perga

Aspendus

Side

Xanthus

Telos

Rhodes

Rhodes I.

Carpathos

Patara

Myra

Pr. Anemurium

Pr. Criu-metopon

Euxine or Black Sea

Bosphorus Thracius

Hellespont

Archipelago

Cyclades

Andros

Delos

Naxos

Paros

Thera Santorin

Aspronisi

Cythera

Malea

Maina

Sparta

Lacedæmon

Argos

Corinth

Isthmus

Attica

Athens

Piræus

Megara

Thebes

Delphi

Parnassus

Helicon

Phocis

Bœotia

Eubœa

Chalcis

Euripus

Pylus Navarin

Modon

Coron

Arcadia

Messenia

Laconia

Peloponnesus

Cydonia

Candia

Mt. Ida

Gortyna

CRETE CANDIA

Mediterranean Sea

Ionian Sea

Adriatic Sea

Gulf of Venice

Gulf of Lyons

Leptis

Syrtis Major

Ptolemais

Cyrene

Darnis Derne

Berenice

Cimonolis

Diarrœa Zoara

Macomades

Badasi Mts.

Apis Parætonium

Ogdamus Mts.

Augila

Gelanus

Naſamones

Libya

Ammon

Alexandria

Canopus

Damietta

Sebennytus

Pelusium

Bubastus Heroopolis

Remains of Heliopolis

Pyramids

Remains of Memphis

Lake Maris

Babylon and Grand Cairo

Arsinoe Heracleopolis

Small Oasis

Oxyrinchus

Great Hermopolis

Antinoe

Lycopolis

Great Oasis

Ptolemais Gerge

Abydus

Tentyra Dendera

Coptos

Hermunthis

Remains of Thebes

Latopolis Asna

Syene

Cataracts Minor

Cataracts Major

Premis Ibrim

Nile R.

Egypt

Nile R.

Mons Claudianus

Mons Smaragdus

Berenice

Myos Hormos

Chemmis Panopolis Acmim

Monastery of St Paul

Monastery of St Antony

Mt. Sinai

Suez

Arsinoe

Pelusiac

Sirbonis Lake

Casius Mt.

Rhinocolura

Gaza

Ascalon

Jamnia

Germanicia

Cæsarea

Arabia

Nobatæ

Garamantes

Garama

Cinyphus R.

Lynxama

Tropic of Cancer

Africa

Æthiopia

Blemmyes

Nile R.

Gir R.

Roman Miles of 75 to a Degree. 75 150

Greek Stadia of Eight to a Roman Mile. 600 1200

English Miles. 50 100 200

Parasangs or Leagues of 25 to a Degree. 25 50 75

40 Longitude E. from Ferro 50

30

40

20

A MAP of the EASTERN PART of the ROMAN EMPIRE

By Thos. Kitchin Senr. Hydrographer to his Majesty.

The Arabs often assumed a licentious Privilege of encamping on the Skirts of Mesopotamia Syria & Egypt.

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CHAP. XXVII.

Death of Gratian.—Ruin of Arianiſm.—St. Ambroſe.—Firſt civil War, againſt Maximus.—Character, Adminiſtration, and Penance, of Theodoſius.—Death of Valentinian II.—*Second civil War, againſt Eugenius.—Death of Theodoſius.*

THE fame of Gratian, before he had accompliſhed the twentieth year of his age, was equal to that of the moſt celebrated princes. His gentle and amiable diſpoſition endeared him to his private friends, the graceful affability of his manners engaged the affection of the people: the men of letters, who enjoyed the liberality, acknowledged the taſte and eloquence,

Character and conduct of the emperor Gratian. A. D. 379—383.

of their ſovereign; his valour and dexterity in arms were equally applauded by the ſoldiers; and the clergy conſidered the humble piety of Gratian as the firſt and moſt uſeful of his virtues. The victory of Colmar had delivered the Weſt from a formidable invaſion; and the grateful provinces of the Eaſt aſcribed the merits of Theodoſius, to the author of *his* greatneſs, and of the public ſafety. Gratian ſurvived thoſe memorable events only four or five years; but he ſurvived his reputation; and, before he fell a victim to rebellion, he had loſt, in a great meaſure, the reſpect and confidence of the Roman world.

His defects. The remarkable alteration of his character or conduct, may not be imputed to the arts of flattery, which had beſieged the ſon of Valentinian from his infancy; nor to the headſtrong paſſions which that gentle youth appears to have eſcaped. A more attentive view of the life of Gratian, may perhaps ſuggeſt the true cauſe of the diſappointment of the public hopes. His apparent virtues, inſtead of being the hardy productions of experience and adverſity, were the premature and artificial fruits of a royal education. The anxious tenderneſs of his father was continually employed to beſtow on him thoſe advantages, which he might perhaps eſteem the more highly, as he himſelf had been deprived of them; and the moſt ſkilful maſters of every ſcience, and of every art, had laboured to form the mind and body of the young prince(1). The

(1) Valentinian was leſs attentive to the religion of his ſon; ſince he entruſted the education of Gratian to Auſonius, a profeſſed Pagan (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xv. p. 125—138.). The poetical fame of Auſonius condemns the taſte of his age.

The knowledge which they painfully communicated was diſplayed with oſtentation, and celebrated with laviſh praiſe. His ſoft and tractable diſpoſition received the fair impreſſion of their judicious precepts, and the abſence of paſſion might eaſily be miſtaken for the ſtrength of reaſon. His preceptors gradually roſe to the rank and conſequence of miniſters of ſtate (2); and, as they wiſely diſſembled their ſecret authority, he ſeemed to act with firmneſs, with propriety, and with judgment, on the moſt important occaſions of his life and reign. But the influence of this elaborate inſtruction did not penetrate beyond the ſurface; and the ſkilful preceptors, who ſo accurately guided the ſteps of their royal pupil, could not infuſe into his feeble and indolent character, the vigorous and independent principle of action, which renders the laborious purſuit of glory eſſentially neceſſary to the happineſs, and almoſt to the exiſtence, of the hero. As ſoon as time and accident had removed thoſe faithful counſellors from the throne, the emperor of the Weſt inſenſibly deſcended to the level of his natural genius; abandoned the reins of government to the ambitious hands which were ſtretched forwards to graſp them; and amuſed his leiſure with the moſt frivolous gratifications. A public ſale of favour and injuſtice was inſtituted, both in the court, and in the provinces, by the worthleſs delegates of his power, whoſe merit, it was made *ſacrilege* to

(2) Auſonius was ſucceſſively promoted to the prætorian præfecture of Italy (A. D. 377.), and of Gaul (A. D. 378.); and was at length inveſted with the conſulſhip (A. D. 379.). He expreſſed his gratitude in a ſervile and inſipid piece of flattery (Actio Gratiarum, p. 699—736.), which has ſurvived more worthy productions.

queſtion (3). The conſcience of the credulous prince was directed by ſaints and biſhops (4); who procured an Imperial edict to puniſh, as a capital offence, the violation, the neglect, or even the ignorance, of the divine law (5). Among the various arts which had exerciſed the youth of Gratian, he had applied himſelf, with ſingular inclination and ſucceſs, to manage the horſe, to draw the bow, and to dart the javelin; and theſe qualifications, which might be uſeful to a ſoldier, were proſtituted to the viler purpoſes of hunting. Large parks were incloſed for the Imperial pleaſures, and plentifully ſtocked with every ſpecies of wild beaſts; and Gratian neglected the duties, and even the dignity, of his rank, to conſume whole days in the vain diſplay of his dexterity and boldneſs in the chace. The pride and wiſh of the Roman emperor to excel in an art, in which he might be ſurpaſſed by the meaneſt of his ſlaves, reminded the numerous ſpectators of the examples of Nero and Commodus: but the chaſte and temperate Gratian was a ſtranger to their monſtrous vices; and his hands were ſtained only with the blood of animals (6).

The

(3) Diſputare de principali judicio non oportet. Sacrilegii enim inſtar eſt dubitare, an is dignus ſit, quem elegerit imperator. Codex Juſtinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 3. This convenient law was revived and promulgated, after the death of Gratian, by the feeble court of Milan.

(4) Ambroſe compoſed, for his inſtruction, a theological treatiſe on the faith of the Trinity: and Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 158. 169.) aſcribes to the arch-biſhop the merit of Gratian's intolerant laws.

(5) Qui divinæ legis ſanctitatem, neſciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violant, et offendunt, ſacrilegium committunt. Codex Juſtinian. l. ix. tit. xxix. leg. 1. Theodoſius indeed may claim his ſhare, in the merit of this comprehenſive law.

(6) Ammianus (xxxi. 10.) and the younger Victor acknowledge the virtues of Gratian; and accuſe, or rather lament, his degenerate

The behaviour of Gratian, which degraded his character in the eyes of mankind, could not have diſturbed the ſecurity of his reign, if the army had not been provoked to reſent their peculiar injuries. As long as the young emperor was guided by the inſtructions of his maſters, he profeſſed himſelf the friend and pupil of the ſoldiers; many of his hours were ſpent in the familiar converſation of the camp; and the health, the comforts, the rewards, the honours, of his faithful troops, appeared to be the object of his attentive concern. But, after Gratian more freely indulged his prevailing taſte for hunting and ſhooting, he naturally connected himſelf with the moſt dexterous miniſters of his favourite amuſement. A body of the Alani was received into the military and domeſtic ſervice of the palace; and the admirable ſkill, which they were accuſtomed to diſplay in the unbounded plains of Scythia, was exerciſed, on a more narrow theatre, in the parks and incloſures of Gaul. Gratian admired the talents and cuſtoms of theſe favourite guards, to whom alone he entruſted the defence of his perſon: and, as if he meant to inſult the public opinion, he frequently ſhewed himſelf to the ſoldiers and people, with the dreſs and arms, the long bow, the ſounding quiver, and the fur garments, of a Scythian warrior. The unworthy ſpectacle of a Roman prince, who had renounced the dreſs and manners of his country, filled the minds of the legions with grief and indignation (7). Even

Diſcontent of the Roman troops, A. D. 383.

degenerate taſte. The odious parallel of Commodus is ſaved by "licet incruentus;" and perhaps Philoſtorgius (l. x. c. 10. and Godefroy, p. 412.) had guarded, with ſome ſimilar reſerve, the compariſon of Nero.

(7) Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 247.) and the younger Victor aſcribe the revolution to the favour of the Alani, and the diſcontent of the

Even the Germans, ſo ſtrong and formidable in the armies of the empire, affected to diſdain the ſtrange and horrid appearance of the ſavages of the North, who, in the ſpace of a few years, had wandered from the banks of the Volga to thoſe of the Seine. A loud and licentious murmur was echoed through the camps and garriſons of the Weſt: and as the mild indolence of Gratian neglected to extinguiſh the firſt ſymptoms of diſcontent, the want of love and reſpect was not ſupplied by the influence of fear. But the ſubverſion of an eſtabliſhed government is always a work of ſome real, and of much apparent, difficulty; and the throne of Gratian was protected by the ſanctions of cuſtom, law, religion, and the nice balance of the civil and military powers, which had been eſtabliſhed by the policy of Conſtantine. It is not very important to inquire from what cauſes the revolt of Britain was produced. Accident is commonly the parent of diſorder; the ſeeds of rebellion happened to fall on a ſoil which was ſuppoſed to be more fruitful than any other in tyrants and uſurpers (8); the legions of that ſequeſtered iſland had been long famous for a ſpirit of preſumption and arrogance (9); and the name of Maximus was proclaimed, by the tumultuary, but unanimous voice, both of the ſoldiers and of the provincials. The

Revolt of Maximus in Britain.

the Roman troops. Dum exercitum negligeret, et paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad ſe tranſtulerat, anteferret veteri ac Romano militi.

(8) Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, is a memorable expreſſion, uſed by Jerom in the Pelagian controverſy, and variouſly tortured in the diſputes of our national antiquaries. The revolutions of the laſt age appeared to juſtify the image of the ſublime Boſſuet, "cette iſle, plus orageuſe que les mers qui l'environnent."

(9) Zoſimus ſays of the Britiſh ſoldiers, των αλλων απαντων πλειον αυθαδειᾳ και θυμῳ νικωμενους.

The emperor, or the rebel, for his title was not yet aſcertained by fortune, was a native of Spain, the countryman, the fellow-ſoldier, and the rival of Theodoſius, whoſe elevation he had not ſeen without ſome emotions of envy and reſentment; the events of his life had long ſince fixed him in Britain; and I ſhould not be unwilling to find ſome evidence for the marriage, which he is ſaid to have contracted with the daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonſhire (10). But this provincial rank might juſtly be conſidered as a ſtate of exile and ſecurity; and if Maximus had obtained any civil or military office, he was not inveſted with the authority either of governor or general (11). His abilities, and even his integrity, are acknowledged by the partial writers of the age; and the merit muſt indeed have been conſpicuous, that could extort ſuch a confeſſion in favour of the vanquiſhed enemy of Theodoſius. The diſcontent of Maximus might incline him to cenſure the conduct of his ſovereign, and to encourage, perhaps without any views of ambition, the murmurs of the troops. But in the midſt of the tumult, he artfully, or modeſtly, refuſed to aſcend the throne; and ſome credit appears to have been given to his own poſitive declaration, that he was compelled to accept

(10) Helena the daughter of Eudda. Her chapel may ſtill be ſeen at Caer-ſegont, now Caer-narvon (Carte's Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 168, from Rowland's Mona Antiqua.) The prudent reader may not perhaps be ſatisfied with ſuch Welch evidence.

(11) Cambden (vol. i. introduct. p. ci.) appoints him governor of Britain; and the father of our antiquities is followed, as uſual, by his blind progeny. Pacatus and Zoſimus had taken ſome pains to prevent this error, or fable; and I ſhall protect myſelf by their deciſive teſtimonies. Regali habitû *exulem* ſuum, illi exules orbis induerunt (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 23.), and the Greek hiſtorian, ſtill leſs equivocally αυτος (Maximus) δε ουδε εις αρχην εντιμον στυχη προελθων. (l. iv. p. 248.)

cept the dangerous preſent of the Imperial purple (12).

Flight and death of Gratian.

But there was danger likewiſe in refuſing the empire; and from the moment that Maximus had violated his allegiance to his lawful ſovereign, he could not hope to reign, or even to live, if he confined his moderate ambition within the narrow limits of Britain. He boldly and wiſely reſolved to prevent the deſigns of Gratian; the youth of the iſland crowded to his ſtandard, and he invaded Gaul with a fleet and army, which were long afterwards remembered, as the emigration of a conſiderable part of the Britiſh nation (13). The emperor, in his peaceful reſidence of Paris, was alarmed by their hoſtile approach; and the darts which he idly waſted on lions and bears, might have been employed more honourably againſt the rebels. But his feeble efforts announced his degenerate ſpirit and deſperate ſituation; and deprived him of the reſources, which he ſtill might have found, in the ſupport of his ſubjects and allies. The armies of Gaul, inſtead of oppoſing the march of Maximus, received him with joyful and loyal acclamations; and the ſhame of the deſertion was

(12) Sulpicius Severus, Dialog. ii. 7. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 34. p. 556. They both acknowledge (Sulpicius had been his ſubject) his innocence and merit. It is ſingular enough, that Maximus ſhould be leſs favourably treated by Zoſimus, the partial adverſary of his rival.

(13) Archbiſhop Uſher (Antiquitat. Britan. Eccleſ. p. 107, 108.) has diligently collected the legends of the iſland, and the continent. The whole emigration conſiſted of 30,000 ſoldiers, and 100,000 plebeians, who ſettled in Bretagne. Their deſtined brides, St. Urſula with 11,000 noble, and 60,000 plebeian, virgins, miſtook their way; landed at Cologne, and were all moſt cruelly murdered by the Huns. But the plebeian ſiſters have been defrauded of their equal honours; and, what is ſtill harder, John Trithemius preſumes to mention the *children* of theſe Britiſh *virgins*.

was transferred from the people to the prince. The troops, whoſe ſtation more immediately attached them to the ſervice of the palace, abandoned the ſtandard of Gratian the firſt time that it was diſplayed in the neighbourhood of Paris. The emperor of the Weſt fled towards Lyons, with a train of only three hundred horſe; and, in the cities along the road, where he hoped to find a refuge, or at leaſt a paſſage, he was taught, by cruel experience, that every gate is ſhut againſt the unfortunate. Yet he might ſtill have reached, in ſafety, the dominions of his brother; and ſoon have returned with the forces of Italy and the Eaſt; if he had not ſuffered himſelf to be fatally deceived by the perfidious governor of the Lyonneſe province. Gratian was amuſed by proteſtations of doubtful fidelity; and the hopes of a ſupport, which could not be effectual; till the arrival of Andragathius, the general of the cavalry of Maximus, put an end to his ſuſpenſe. That reſolute officer executed, without remorſe, the orders, or the intentions, of the uſurper. Gratian, as he roſe from ſupper, was delivered into the hands of the aſſaſſin; and his body was denied to the pious and preſſing intreaties of his brother Valentinian (14). The death of the emperor was followed by that of his powerful general Mellobaudes, the king of the Franks; who maintained, to the laſt moment of his life, the ambiguous reputation, which is the juſt recompence of obſcure and ſubtle policy

A. D. 383. Auguſt 25.

(14) Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 248, 249.) has tranſported the death of Gratian from Lugdunum in Gaul (Lyons) to Singidunum in Mœſia. Some hints may be extracted from the Chronicles; ſome lies may be detected in Sozomen (l. vii. c. 13.) and Socrates (l. v. c. 11.). Ambroſe is our moſt authentic evidence (tom. i. Enarrat. in Pſalm lxi. p. 961. tom. ii. epiſt. xxiv. p. 888, &c. and de Obitû Valentinian. Conſolat. No. 28. p. 1182.)

licy (15). Theſe executions might be neceſſary to the public ſafety: but the ſucceſsful uſurper, whoſe power was acknowledged by all the provinces of the Weſt, had the merit, and the ſatisfaction, of boaſting, that, except thoſe who had periſhed by the chance of war, his triumph was not ſtained by the blood of the Romans (16).

Treaty of peace between Maximus and Theodoſius A.D. 383 - 387.

The events of this revolution had paſſed in ſuch rapid ſucceſſion, that it would have been impoſſible for Theodoſius to march to the relief of his benefactor, before he received the intelligence of his defeat and death. During the ſeaſon of ſincere grief, or oſtentatious mourning, the Eaſtern emperor was interrupted by the arrival of the principal chamberlain of Maximus: and the choice of a venerable old man, for an office which was uſually exerciſed by eunuchs, announced to the court of Conſtantinople the gravity and temperance of the Britiſh uſurper. The ambaſſador condeſcended to juſtify, or excuſe, the conduct of his maſter; and to proteſt, in ſpecious language, that the murder of Gratian had been perpetrated, without his knowledge or conſent, by the precipitate zeal of the ſoldiers. But he proceeded, in a firm and equal tone, to offer Theodoſius the alternative of peace, or war. The ſpeech of the ambaſſador concluded with a ſpirited declaration, that although Maximus, as a Roman,

(15) Pacatus (xii. 28.) celebrates his fidelity; while his treachery is marked in Proſper's Chronicle, as the cauſe of the ruin of Gratian. Ambroſe, who has occaſion to exculpate himſelf, only condemns the death of Vallio, a faithful ſervant of Gratian (tom. ii. epiſt. xxiv. p. 891. edit. Benedict.).

(16) He proteſted, nullum ex adverſariis niſi in acie occubuiſſe. Sulp. Severus in Vit. B. Martin. c. 23. The orator of Theodoſius beſtows reluctant, and therefore weighty, praiſe on his clemency. Si cui ille, pro ceteris ſceleribus ſuis, *minus crudelis* fuiſſe videtur (Panegyr. Vet. xii. 28.).

a Roman, and as the father of his people, would chuſe rather to employ his forces in the common defence of the republic, he was armed and prepared, if his friendſhip ſhould be rejected, to diſpute in a field of battle the empire of the world. An immediate and peremptory anſwer was required; but it was extremely difficult for Theodoſius to ſatisfy, on this important occaſion, either the feelings of his own mind, or the expectations of the public. The imperious voice of honour and gratitude called aloud for revenge. From the liberality of Gratian, he had received the Imperial diadem: his patience would encourage the odious ſuſpicion, that he was more deeply ſenſible of former injuries, than of recent obligations; and if he accepted the friendſhip, he muſt ſeem to ſhare the guilt, of the aſſaſſin. Even the principles of juſtice, and the intereſt of ſociety, would receive a fatal blow from the impunity of Maximus: and the example of ſucceſsful uſurpation would tend to diſſolve the artificial fabric of government, and once more to replunge the empire in the crimes and calamities of the preceding age. But, as the ſentiments of gratitude and honour ſhould invariably regulate the conduct of an individual, they may be overbalanced in the mind of a ſovereign, by the ſenſe of ſuperior duties; and the maxims, both of juſtice and humanity, muſt permit the eſcape of an atrocious criminal, if an innocent people would be involved in the conſequences of his puniſhment. The aſſaſſin of Gratian had uſurped, but he actually poſſeſſed, the moſt warlike provinces of the empire: the Eaſt was exhauſted by the misfortunes, and even by the ſucceſs, of the Gothic war; and it was ſeriouſly to be apprehended, that, after the vital

ſtrength

ſtrength of the republic had been waſted in a doubtful and deſtructive conteſt, the feeble conqueror would remain an eaſy prey to the Barbarians of the North. Theſe weighty conſiderations engaged Theodoſius to diſſemble his reſentment, and to accept the alliance of the tyrant. But he ſtipulated, that Maximus ſhould content himſelf with the poſſeſſion of the countries beyond the Alps. The brother of Gratian was confirmed and ſecured in the ſovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the Weſtern Illyricum; and ſome honourable conditions were inſerted in the treaty, to protect the memory, and the laws, of the deceaſed emperor (17). According to the cuſtom of the age, the images of the three imperial colleagues were exhibited to the veneration of the people: nor ſhould it be lightly ſuppoſed, that, in the moment of a ſolemn reconciliation, Theodoſius ſecretly cheriſhed the intention of perfidy and revenge (18).

Baptiſm and orthodox edicts of Theodoſius, A. D. 380, Feb. 28.

The contempt of Gratian for the Roman ſoldiers, had expoſed him to the fatal effects of their reſentment. His profound veneration for the Chriſtian clergy was rewarded by the applauſe and gratitude of a powerful order, which has claimed, in every age, the privilege of diſpenſing honours, both on earth and in heaven (19). The orthodox biſhops bewailed his death, and their own irreparable loſs: but they were ſoon comforted

(17) Ambroſe mentions the laws of Gratian, quas non abrogavit hoſtis (tom. ii. epiſt. xvii. p. 827).

(18) Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 251, 252. We may diſclaim his odious ſuſpicions; but we cannot reject the treaty of peace, which the friends of Theodoſius have abſolutely forgotten, or ſlightly mentioned.

(19) Their oracle, the archbiſhop of Milan, aſſigns to his pupil Gratian an high and reſpectable place in heaven (tom ii. de Obit. Val. Conſol. p. 1193.).

comforted by the diſcovery, that Gratian had committed the ſceptre of the Eaſt to the hands of a prince, whoſe humble faith, and fervent zeal, were ſupported by the ſpirit and abilities of a more vigorous character. Among the benefactors of the church, the fame of Conſtantine had been rivalled by the glory of Theodoſius. If Conſtantine had the advantage of erecting the ſtandard of the croſs, the emulation of his ſucceſſor aſſumed the merit of ſubduing the Arian hereſy, and of aboliſhing the worſhip of idols in the Roman world. Theodoſius was the firſt of the emperors baptiſed in the true faith of the Trinity. Although he was born of a Chriſtian family, the maxims, or at leaſt the practice, of the age, encouraged him to delay the ceremony of his initiation; till he was admoniſhed of the danger of delay, by the ſerious illneſs which threatened his life, towards the end of the firſt year of his reign. Before he again took the field againſt the Goths, he received the ſacrament of baptiſm (20) from Acholius, the orthodox biſhop of Theſſalonica (21): and, as the emperor aſcended from the holy font, ſtill glowing with the warm feelings of regeneration, he dictated a ſolemn edict, which proclaimed his own faith, and preſcribed the religion of his ſubjects. "It is our pleaſure (ſuch is the Imperial "ſtyle), that all the nations, which are go-
"verned

(20) For the baptiſm of Theodoſius, ſee Sozomen (l. vii. c. 4.), Socrates (l. v. c. 6.), and Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728.).

(21) Aſcolius, or Acholius, was honoured by the friendſhip, and the praiſes, of Ambroſe; who ſtyles him, murus fidei atque ſanctitatis (tom. ii. epiſt. xv. p. 820); and afterwards celebrates his ſpeed and diligence in running to Conſtantinople, Italy, &c. (epiſt. xvi. p. 822.) a virtue which does not appertain either to a *wall*, or a *biſhop*.

" verned by our clemency and moderation, ſhould " ſtedfaſtly adhere to the religion which was " taught by St. Peter to the Romans; which " faithful tradition has preſerved; and which is " now profeſſed by the pontiff Damaſus, and by " Peter, biſhop of Alexandria, a man of apoſ- " tolic holineſs. According to the diſcipline of " the apoſtles, and the doctrine of the goſpel, " let us believe the ſole deity of the Father, the " Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; under an equal " majeſty, and a pious Trinity. We authoriſe " the followers of this doctrine to aſſume the title " of Catholic Chriſtians; and as we judge, that " all others are extravagant madmen, we brand " them with the infamous name of Heretics; " and declare, that their conventicles ſhall no " longer uſurp the reſpectable appellation of " churches. Beſides the condemnation of Divine " juſtice, they muſt expect to ſuffer the ſevere " penalties, which our authority, guided by " heavenly wiſdom, ſhall think proper to inflict " upon them (22)." The faith of a ſoldier is commonly the fruit of inſtruction, rather than of inquiry; but as the emperor always fixed his eyes on the viſible land-marks of orthodoxy, which he had ſo prudently conſtituted, his religious opinions were never affected by the ſpecious texts, the ſubtle arguments, and the ambiguous creeds of the Arian doctors. Once indeed he expreſſed a faint inclination to converſe with the eloquent and learned Eunomius, who lived in retirement at a ſmall diſtance from Conſtantinople. But the dangerous interview was pre-

(22) Codex Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. i. leg. 2. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 5—9. Such an edict deſerved the warmeſt praiſes of Baronius, auream ſanctionem, edictum pium et ſalutare.—Sic itur ad aſtra.

prevented by the prayers of the Empreſs Flaccilla, who trembled for the ſalvation of her huſband; and the mind of Theodoſius was confirmed by a theological argument, adapted to the rudeſt capacity. He had lately beſtowed, on his eldeſt ſon Arcadius, the name and honours of Auguſtus; and the two princes were ſeated on a ſtately throne to receive the homage of their ſubjects. A biſhop, Amphilochius of Iconium, approached the throne, and after ſaluting, with due reverence, the perſon of his ſovereign, he accoſted the royal youth with the ſame familiar tenderneſs, which he might have uſed towards a plebeian child. Provoked by this inſolent behaviour, the monarch gave orders, that the ruſtic prieſt ſhould be inſtantly driven from his preſence. But while the guards were forcing him to the door, the dexterous polemic had time to execute his deſign, by exclaiming, with a loud voice, "Such is the treatment, O Emperor! "which the King of heaven has prepared for "thoſe impious men, who affect to worſhip the "Father, but refuſe to acknowledge the equal "majeſty of his divine Son." Theodoſius immediately embraced the biſhop of Iconium; and never forgot the important leſſon, which he had received from this dramatic parable (23).

Conſtantinople was the principal ſeat and fortreſs of Arianiſm; and, in a long interval of forty years (24), the faith of the princes and prelates

Arianiſm of Conſtantinople, A. D. 340—380.

(23) Sozomen, l. vii. c. 6. Theodoret, l. v. c. 16. Tillemont is diſpleaſed (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 627, 628.) with the terms of "ruſtic biſhop," "obſcure city." Yet I muſt take leave to think, that both Amphilochius and Iconium were objects of inconſiderable magnitude in the Roman empire.

(24) Sozomen, l. vii. c. 5. Socrates, l. v. c. 7. Marcellin. in Chron. The account of forty years muſt be dated from the election or intruſion of Euſebius; who wiſely exchanged the biſhopric of Nicomedia for the throne of Conſtantinople.

prelates, who reigned in the capital of the Eaſt, was rejected in the purer ſchools of Rome and Alexandria. The archiepiſcopal throne of Macedonius, which had been polluted with ſo much Chriſtian blood, was ſucceſſively filled by Eudoxus and Damophilus. Their dioceſe enjoyed a free importation of vice and error from every province of the empire; the eager purſuit of religious controverſy afforded a new occupation to the buſy idleneſs of the metropolis; and we may credit the aſſertion of an intelligent obſerver, who deſcribes, with ſome pleaſantry, the effects of their loquacious zeal. "This city, ſays he, is full of mechanics and "ſlaves, who are all of them profound theologians; and preach in the "ſtreets. If you deſire a man to change a piece "of ſilver, he informs you, wherein the Son "differs from the Father: if you aſk the price "of a loaf, you are told, by way of reply, "that the Son is inferior to the Father; and if "you enquire, whether the bath is ready, the "anſwer is, that the Son was made out of nothing (25)." The heretics, of various denominations, ſubſiſted in peace under the protection of the Arians of Conſtantinople; who endeavoured to ſecure the attachment of thoſe obſcure ſectaries; while they abuſed, with unrelenting ſeverity, the victory which they had obtained over the followers of the council of Nice. During the partial reigns of Conſtantius and Valens, the feeble remnant of the Homoouſians was

(25) See Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 71. The thirty-third Oration of Gregory Nazianzen affords indeed ſome ſimilar ideas, even ſome ſtill more ridiculous; but I have not yet found the *words* of this remarkable paſſage; which I allege on the faith of a correct and liberal ſcholar.

was deprived of the public and private exerciſe of their religion; and it has been obſerved, in pathetic language, that the ſcattered flock was left without a ſhepherd to wander on the mountains, or to be devoured by rapacious wolves (26). But, as their zeal, inſtead of being ſubdued, derived ſtrength and vigour from oppreſſion, they ſeized the firſt moments of imperfect freedom, which they acquired by the death of Valens, to form themſelves into a regular congregation, under the conduct of an epiſcopal paſtor. The natives of Cappadocia, Baſil, and Gregory Nazianzen (27), were diſtinguiſhed above all their contemporaries (28), by the rare union of profane eloquence and of orthodox piety. Theſe orators, who might ſometimes be compared, by themſelves, and by the public, to the moſt celebrated of the ancient Greeks, were united by the ties of the ſtricteſt friendſhip. They had cultivated, with equal ardour, the ſame liberal ſtudies in the ſchools of Athens; they had retired, with equal devotion, to the ſame ſolitude in the deſerts of Pontus; and every ſpark of emulation, or envy, appeared to be totally extinguiſhed in the holy and ingenuous breaſts of

Gregory Nazianzen

(26) See the thirty-ſecond Oration of Gregory Nazianzen, and the account of his own life, which he has compoſed in 1800 iambics. Yet every phyſician is prone to exaggerate the inveterate nature of the diſeaſe which he has cured.

(27) I confeſs myſelf deeply indebted to the *two* lives of Gregory Nazianzen, compoſed, with very different views, by Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 305—560, 692—731.), and Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Univerſelle, tom. xviii. p. 1—128.).

(28) Unleſs Gregory Nazianzen miſtook thirty years in his own age; he was born, as well as his friend Baſil, about the year 329. The prepoſterous chronology of Suidas has been graciouſly received; becauſe it removes the ſcandal of Gregory's father, a ſaint likewiſe, begetting children, after he became a biſhop (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 693—697.).

Gregory and Baſil. But the exaltation of Baſil, from a private life to the archiepiſcopal throne of Cæſarea, diſcovered to the world, and perhaps to himſelf, the pride of his character; and the firſt favour which he condeſcended to beſtow on his friend was received, and perhaps was intended, as a cruel inſult (29). Inſtead of employing the ſuperior talents of Gregory in ſome uſeful and conſpicuous ſtation, the haughty prelate ſelected, among the fifty biſhoprics of his extenſive province, the wretched village of Saſima (30), without water, without verdure, without ſociety, ſituate at the junction of three highways, and frequented only by the inceſſant paſſage of rude and clamorous waggoners. Gregory ſubmitted with reluctance to this humiliating exile: he was ordained biſhop of Saſima; but he ſolemnly proteſts, that he never conſummated his ſpiritual marriage with this diſguſting bride. He afterwards conſented to undertake the government of his native church of Nazianzus

(29) Gregory's Poem on his own Life contains ſome beautiful lines (tom. ii. p. 8.) which burſt from the heart, and ſpeak the pangs of injured and loſt friendſhip:

. . . . . πονοι κοινοι λογων,
Ομοζυγος τε και συνεζιος βιος,
Νους εις εν αμφοιν . . . . . .
Διεσκιδασται παντα, ερριπται χαμαι,
Ανεμοι φερουσι τας παλαιας ελπιδας.

In the Midſummer Night's Dream, Helenia addreſſes the ſame pathetic complaint to her friend Hermia:

Is all the counſel that we two have ſhared,
The ſiſter's vows, &c.

Shakeſpeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen: he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother-tongue, the language of nature, is the ſame in Cappadocia and in Britain.

(30) This unfavourable portrait of Saſima is drawn by Gregory Nazianzen (tom. ii. de Vitâ ſuâ, p. 7, 8.). Its preciſe ſituation, forty-nine miles from Archelais, and thirty-two from Tyana, is fixed in the Itinerary of Antoninus (p. 144. edit. Weſſeling.).

anzus (31), of which his father had been biſhop above five-and-forty years. But as he was ſtill conſcious, that he deſerved another audience, and another theatre, he accepted, with no unworthy ambition, the honourable invitation, which was addreſſed to him from the orthodox party of Conſtantinople. On his arrival in the capital, Gregory was entertained in the houſe of a pious and charitable kinſman; the moſt ſpacious room was conſecrated to the uſes of religious worſhip; and the name of *Anaſtaſia* was choſen, to expreſs the reſurrection of the Nicene faith. This private conventicle was afterwards converted into a magnificent church; and the credulity of the ſucceeding age was prepared to believe the miracles and viſions, which atteſted the preſence, or at leaſt the protection, of the Mother of God (32). The pulpit of the Anaſtaſia was the ſcene of the labours and triumphs of Gregory Nazianzen; and, in the ſpace of two years, he experienced all the ſpiritual adventures which conſtitute the proſperous or adverſe fortunes of a miſſionary (33). The Arians, who were provoked by the boldneſs of his enterprize, repreſented his doctrine, as if he had preached three diſtinct and equal Deities; and the devout populace was excited to ſuppreſs, by violence and tumult, the irregular aſſemblies of

accepts the miſſion of Conſtantinople, A. D. 378, November.

(31) The name of Nazianzus has been immortaliſed by Gregory; but his native town, under the Greek or Roman title of Diocæſarea (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 692.), is mentioned by Pliny (vi. 3.), Ptolemy, and Hierocles (Itinerar. Weſſeling, p. 709.). It appears to have been ſituate on the edge of Iſauria.

(32) See Ducange, Conſtant. Chriſtiana, l. iv. p. 141, 142. The θεια δυναμις of Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5.) is interpreted to mean the Virgin Mary.

(33) Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 432, &c.) diligently collects, enlarges, and explains, the oratorical and poetical hints of Gregory himſelf.

the Athanaſian heretics. From the cathedral of St. Sophia, there iſſued a motley crowd "of "common beggars, who had forfeited their claim "to pity; of monks, who had the appearance "of goats or ſatyrs; and of women, more ter- "rible than ſo many Jezabels." The doors of the Anaſtaſia were broke open; much miſchief was perpetrated, or attempted, with ſticks, ſtones, and firebrands; and as a man loſt his life in the affray, Gregory, who was ſummoned the next morning before the magiſtrate, had the ſatisfaction of ſuppoſing, that he publicly confeſſed the name of Chriſt. After he was delivered from the fear and danger of a foreign enemy, his infant church was diſgraced and diſtracted by inteſtine faction. A ſtranger, who aſſumed the name of Maximus (34), and the cloak of a Cynic philoſopher, inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Gregory; deceived and abuſed his favourable opinion; and forming a ſecret connection with ſome biſhops of Egypt, attempted, by a clandeſtine ordination, to ſupplant his patron in the epiſcopal ſeat of Conſtantinople. Theſe mortifications might ſometimes tempt the Cappadocian miſſionary to regret his obſcure ſolitude. But his fatigues were rewarded by the daily increaſe of his fame and his congregation; and he enjoyed the pleaſure of obſerving, that the greater part of his numerous audience retired from his ſermons, ſatisfied with the eloquence of the preacher (35), or diſſatisfied with the

(34) He pronounced an oration (tom. i. Orat. xxiii. p. 409.) in his praiſe; but after their quarrel, the name of Maximus was changed into that of Heron (ſee Jerom, tom. i. in Catalog. Script. Eccleſ. p. 301.). I touch ſlightly on theſe obſcure and perſonal ſquabbles.

(35) Under the modeſt emblem of a dream, Gregory (tom. ii. carmen ix. p. 78.) deſcribes his own ſucceſs with ſome human com-

the manifold imperfections of their faith and practice (36).

Ruin of Arianiſm at Conſtantinople, A. D. 380, November 26.

The Catholics of Conſtantinople were animated with joyful confidence by the baptiſm and edict of Theodoſius; and they impatiently waited the effects of his gracious promiſe. Their hopes were ſpeedily accompliſhed; and the emperor, as ſoon as he had finiſhed the operations of the campaign, made his public entry into the capital at the head of a victorious army. The next day after his arrival, he ſummoned Damophilus to his preſence; and offered that Arian prelate the hard alternative of ſubſcribing the Nicene creed, or of inſtantly reſigning, to the orthodox believers, the uſe and poſſeſſion of the epiſcopal palace, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and all the churches of Conſtantinople. The zeal of Damophilus, which in a Catholic ſaint would have been juſtly applauded, embraced, without heſitation, a life of poverty and exile (37); and his removal was immediately followed by the purification of the Imperial city. The Arians might complain, with ſome appearance of juſtice, that an inconſiderable congregation of ſectaries ſhould uſurp the hundred churches, which they were inſufficient to fill: whilſt the far greater part of the people was cruelly excluded from every place of religious worſhip. Theodoſius was

complacency. Yet it ſhould ſeem, from his familiar converſation with his auditor St. Jerom (tom. i. Epiſt. ad Nepotian. p. 14), that the preacher underſtood the true value of popular applauſe.

(36) Lachrymæ auditorum laudes tuæ ſint, is the lively and judicious advice of St. Jerom.

(37) Socrates (l. v. c. 7.)j and Sozomen (l. vii. c. 5.) relate the evangelical words and actions of Damophilus without a word of approbation. He conſidered, ſays Socrates, that it is difficult to *reſiſt* the powerful; but it was eaſy, and would have been profitable, to *ſubmit*.

was ſtill inexorable: but as the angels who protected the Catholic cauſe, were only viſible to the eyes of faith, he prudently reinforced thoſe heavenly legions, with the more effectual aid of temporal and carnal weapons: and the church of St. Sophia was occupied by a large body of the Imperial guards. If the mind of Gregory was ſuſceptible of pride, he muſt have felt a very lively ſatisfaction, when the emperor conducted him through the ſtreets in ſolemn triumph; and, with his own hand, reſpectfully placed him on the archiepiſcopal throne of Conſtantinople. But the ſaint (who had not ſubdued the imperfections of human virtue) was deeply affected by the mortifying conſideration, that his entrance into the fold was that of a wolf, rather than of a ſhepherd: that the glittering arms, which ſurrounded his perſon, were neceſſary for his ſafety; and that he alone was the object of the imprecations of a great party, whom, as men and citizens, it was impoſſible for him to deſpiſe. He beheld the innumerable multitude of either ſex, and of every age, who crowded the ſtreets, the windows, and the roofs of the houſes; he heard the tumultuous voice of rage, grief, aſtoniſhment, and diſpair; and Gregory fairly confeſſes, that on the memorable day of his inſtallation, the capital of the Eaſt wore the appearance of a city taken by ſtorm, and in the hands of a Barbarian conqueror (38). About ſix weeks afterwards, Theodoſius declared his reſolution of expelling from all the churches of his dominions, the

(38) See Gregory Nazianzen, tom. ii. de Vitâ ſuâ, p. 21, 22. For the ſake of poſterity, the biſhop of Conſtantinople records a ſtupendous prodigy. In the month of November, it was a cloudy morning; but the ſun broke out when the proceſſion entered the church.

the biſhops and their clergy, who ſhould obſtinately refuſe to believe, or at leaſt to profeſs, the doctrine of the council of Nice. His lieutenant Sapor was armed with the ample powers of a general law, a ſpecial commiſſion, and a military force (39); and this eccleſiaſtical revolution was conducted with ſo much diſcretion and vigour, that the religion of the emperor was eſtabliſhed, without tumult, or bloodſhed, in all the provinces of the Eaſt. The writings of the Arians, if they had been permitted to exiſt (40), would perhaps contain the lamentable ſtory of the perſecution, which afflicted the church under the reign of the impious Theodoſius; and the ſufferings of *their* holy confeſſors, might claim the pity of the diſintereſted reader. Yet there is reaſon to imagine that the violence of zeal and revenge was, in ſome meaſure, eluded by the want of reſiſtance; and that, in their adverſity, the Arians diſplayed much leſs firmneſs, than had been exerted by the orthodox party under the reigns of Conſtantius and Valens. The moral character and conduct of the hoſtile ſects appear to have been governed by the ſame common principles of nature and religion: but a very material circumſtance may be diſcovered, which tended to diſtinguiſh the degrees of their theological faith. Both parties, in the ſchools, as well as in the temples, acknowledged and worſhipped the divine majeſty of Chriſt; and, as we are always prone to impute our own ſentiments and paſſions

In the Eaſt, A.D. 381, January 10.

(39) Of the three eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, Theodoret alone (l. v. c. 2.) has mentioned this important commiſſion of Sapor, which Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 728.) judiciouſly removes, from the reign of Gratian, to that of Theodoſius.

(40) I do not reckon Philoſtorgius, though he mentions (l. ix. c. 9.) the expulſion of Damophilus. The Eunomian hiſtorian has been carefully ſtrained through an orthodox ſieve.

paſſions to the Deity, it would be deemed more prudent and reſpectful to exaggerate, than to circumſcribe, the adorable perfections of the Son of God. The diſciple of Athanaſius exulted in the proud confidence, that he had entitled himſelf to the divine favour: while the follower of Arius muſt have been tormented, by the ſecret apprehenſion, that he was guilty, perhaps, of an unpardonable offence, by the ſcanty praiſe, and parſimonious honours, which he beſtowed on the Judge of the World. The opinions of Arianiſm might ſatisfy a cold and ſpeculative mind: but the doctrine of the Nicene Creed, moſt powerfully recommended by the merits of faith and devotion, was much better adapted to become popular and ſucceſsful in a believing age.

The council of Conſtantinople, A. D. 381, May.

The hope, that truth and wiſdom would be found in the aſſemblies of the orthodox clergy, induced the emperor to convene, at Conſtantinople, a ſynod of one hundred and fifty biſhops, who proceeded, without much difficulty or delay, to complete the theological ſyſtem which had been eſtabliſhed in the Council of Nice. The vehement diſputes of the fourth century, had been chiefly employed on the nature of the Son of God: and the various opinions, which were embraced concerning the *Second*, were extended and transferred, by a natural analogy, to the *Third*, perſon of the Trinity (41). Yet it was found, or it was thought neceſſary, by the victorious

(41) Le Clerc has given a curious extract (Bibliotheque Univerſelle, tom. xviii. p. 91—105.) of the theological ſermons which Gregory Nazianzen pronounced at Conſtantinople againſt the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, &c. He tells the Macedonians, who deified the Father and the Son, without the Holy Ghoſt, that they might as well be ſtiled *Tritheiſts*, as *Ditheiſts*. Gregory himſelf was almoſt a Tritheiſt; and his monarchy of heaven reſembles a well-regulated ariſtocracy.

torious adverſaries of Arianiſm, to explain the ambiguous language of ſome reſpectable doctors; to confirm the faith of the Catholics; and to condemn an unpopular and inconſiſtent ſect of Macedonians; who freely admitted that the Son was conſubſtantial to the Father, while they were fearful of ſeeming to acknowledge the exiſtence of *Three* Gods. A final and unanimous ſentence was pronounced to ratify the equal Deity of the Holy Ghoſt; the myſterious doctrine has been received by all the nations, and all the churches of the Chriſtian world; and their grateful reverence has aſſigned to the biſhops of Theodoſius, the ſecond rank among the general councils (42). Their knowledge of religious truth may have been preſerved by tradition, or it may have been communicated by inſpiration; but the ſober evidence of hiſtory will not allow much weight to the perſonal authority of the fathers of Conſtantinople. In an age, when the eccleſiaſtics had ſcandalouſly degenerated from the model of apoſtolical purity, the moſt worthleſs and corrupt were always the moſt eager to frequent, and diſturb, the epiſcopal aſſemblies. The conflict and fermentation of ſo many oppoſite intereſts and tempers inflamed the paſſions of the biſhops: and their ruling paſſions were, the love of gold, and the love of diſpute. Many of the ſame prelates who now applauded the orthodox piety of Theodoſius, had repeatedly changed, with prudent flexibility, their creeds and opinions; and in the various revolutions of the church and ſtate, the religion of their ſovereign was the rule of their obſequious

(42) The firſt general council of Conſtantinople now triumphs in the Vatican: but the popes had long heſitated, and their heſitation perplexes, and almoſt ſtaggers, the humble Tillemont. (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 499, 500.)

obſequious faith. When the emperor ſuſpended his prevailing influence, the turbulent ſynod was blindly impelled, by the abſurd or ſelfiſh motives of pride, hatred, and reſentment. The death of Meletius, which happened at the council of Conſtantinople, preſented the moſt favourable opportunity of terminating the ſchiſm of Antioch, by ſuffering his aged rival, Paulinus, peaceably to end his days in the epiſcopal chair. The faith and virtues of Paulinus were unblemiſhed. But his cauſe was ſupported by the Weſtern churches; and the biſhops of the ſynod reſolved to perpetuate the miſchiefs of diſcord, by the haſty ordination of a perjured candidate (43), rather than to betray the imagined dignity of the Eaſt, which had been illuſtrated by the birth and death of the Son of God. Such unjuſt and diſorderly proceedings forced the graveſt members of the aſſembly to diſſent and to ſecede; and the clamorous majority, which remained maſters of the field of battle, could be compared only to waſps or magpies, to a flight of cranes, or to a flock of geeſe (44).

Retreat of Gregory Nazianzen, A. D. 381.

A ſuſpicion may poſſibly ariſe, that ſo unfavourable a picture of eccleſiaſtical ſynods has been drawn by the partial hand of ſome obſtinate heretic, or ſome malicious infidel. But the name

(43) Before the death of Meletius, ſix or eight of his moſt popular eccleſiaſtics, among whom was Flavian, had *abjured*, for the ſake of peace, the biſhop of Antioch (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 3. 11. Socrates, l. v. c. 5.). Tillemont thinks it his duty to diſbelieve the ſtory; but he owns that there are many circumſtances in the life of Flavian, which *ſeem* inconſiſtent with the praiſes of Chryſoſtom, and the character of a ſaint (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 541.).

(44) Conſult Gregory Nazianzen, de Vitâ ſuâ, tom. ii. p. 25—28. His general and particular opinion of the clergy and their aſſemblies, may be ſeen in verſe and proſe (tom. i. orat. i. p. 33. epiſt. lv. p. 814. tom. ii. carmen x. p. 81.). Such paſſages are faintly marked by Tillemont, and fairly produced by Le Clerc.

name of the ſincere hiſtorian who has conveyed this inſtructive leſſon to the knowledge of poſterity, muſt ſilence the impotent murmurs of ſuperſtition and bigotry. He was one of the moſt pious and eloquent biſhops of the age; a ſaint and a doctor of the church; the ſcourge of Arianiſm, and the pillar of the orthodox faith; a diſtinguiſhed member of the council of Conſtantinople, in which, after the death of Meletius, he exerciſed the functions of preſident: in a word —Gregory Nazianzen himſelf. The harſh and ungenerous treatment which he experienced (45), inſtead of derogating from the truth of his evidence, affords an additional proof of the ſpirit which actuated the deliberations of the ſynod. Their unanimous ſuffrage had confirmed the pretenſions which the biſhop of Conſtantinople derived from the choice of the people, and the approbation of the emperor. But Gregory ſoon became the victim of malice and envy. The biſhops of the Eaſt, his ſtrenuous adherents, provoked by his moderation in the affairs of Antioch, abandoned him, without ſupport, to the adverſe faction of the Egyptians; who diſputed the validity of his election, and rigorouſly aſſerted the obſolete canon, that prohibited the licentious practice of epiſcopal tranſlations. The pride, or the humility of Gregory prompted him to decline a conteſt which might have been imputed to ambition and avarice; and he publicly offered, not without ſome mixture of indignation,

(45) See Gregory, tom. ii. de Vitâ ſuâ, p. 28—31. The fourteenth, twenty-ſeventh, and thirty-ſecond orations were pronounced in the ſeveral ſtages of this buſineſs. The peroration of the laſt (tom. i. p. 528.), in which he takes a ſolemn leave of men and angels, the city and the emperor, the Eaſt and the Weſt, &c. is pathetic, and almoſt ſublime.

indignation, to renounce the government of a church, which had been reſtored, and almoſt created, by his labours. His reſignation was accepted by the ſynod, and by the emperor, with more readineſs than he ſeems to have expected. At the time when he might have hoped to enjoy the fruits of his victory, his epiſcopal throne was filled by the ſenator Nectarius; and the new archbiſhop, accidentally recommended by his eaſy temper and venerable aſpect, was obliged to delay the ceremony of his conſecration, till he had previouſly diſpatched the rites of his baptiſm (46). After this remarkable experience of the ingratitude of princes and prelates, Gregory retired once more to his obſcure ſolitude of Cappadocia; where he employed the remainder of his life, about eight years, in the exerciſes of poetry and devotion. The title of Saint has been added to his name; but the tenderneſs of his heart (47), and the elegance of his genius, reflect a more pleaſing luſtre on the memory of Gregory Nazianzen.

Edicts of Theodoſius againſt the heretics, A.D. 380—394.

It was not enough that Theodoſius had ſuppreſſed the inſolent reign of Arianiſm, or that he had abundantly revenged the injuries which the Catholics ſuſtained from the zeal of Conſtantius and Valens. The orthodox emperor conſidered every heretic as a rebel againſt the ſupreme powers of heaven, and of earth; and each

(46) The whimſical ordination of Nectarius is atteſted by Sozomen (l. vii. c. 8.): but Tillemont obſerves (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix, p. 719), Après tout, ce narré de Sozomene eſt ſi honteux pour tous ceux qu'il y mele, et ſurtout pour Theodoſe, qu'il vaut mieux travailler à le detruire, qu'à le ſoutenir; an admirable canon of criticiſm!

(47) I can only be underſtood to mean, that ſuch was his natural temper; when it was not hardened, or inflamed, by religious zeal. From his retirement, he exhorts Nectarius to proſecute the heretics of Conſtantinople.

each of thoſe powers might exerciſe their peculiar juriſdiction over the ſoul and body of the guilty. The decrees of the council of Conſtantinople had aſcertained the true ſtandard of the faith; and the eccleſiaſtics, who governed the conſcience of Theodoſius, ſuggeſted the moſt effectual methods of perſecution. In the ſpace of fifteen years, he promulgated at leaſt fifteen ſevere edicts againſt the heretics (48); more eſpecially againſt thoſe who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity; and, to deprive them of every hope of eſcape, he ſternly enacted, that if any laws, or reſcripts, ſhould be alleged in their favour, the judges ſhould conſider them as the illegal productions either of fraud, or forgery. The penal ſtatutes were directed againſt the miniſters, the aſſemblies, and the perſons, of the heretics; and the paſſions of the legiſlator were expreſſed in the language of declamation and invective. I. The heretical teachers, who uſurped the ſacred titles of Biſhops, or Preſbyters, were not only excluded from the privileges and emoluments ſo liberally granted to the orthodox clergy, but they were expoſed to the heavy penalties of exile and confiſcation, if they preſumed to preach the doctrine, or to practiſe the rites, of their *accurſed* ſects. A fine of ten pounds of gold (above four hundred pounds ſterling) was impoſed on every perſon who ſhould dare to confer, or receive, or promote, an heretical ordination: and it was reaſonably expected, that if the race of paſtors could be extinguiſhed, their helpleſs flocks would be compelled, by ignorance and hunger, to

(48) See the Theodoſian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 6—23, with Godefroy's commentary on each law, and his general ſummary, or *Paratitlon*, tom. vi. p. 104—110.

to return within the pale of the Catholic Church. II. The rigorous prohibition of conventicles was carefully extended to every poſſible circumſtance, in which the heretics could aſſemble with the intention of worſhipping God and Chriſt according to the dictates of their conſcience. Their religious meetings, whether public or ſecret, by day or by night, in cities or in the country, were equally proſcribed by the edicts of Theodoſius; and the building, or ground, which had been uſed for that illegal purpoſe, was forfeited to the Imperial domain. III. It was ſuppoſed, that the error of the heretics could proceed only from the obſtinate temper of their minds; and that ſuch a temper was a fit object of cenſure and puniſhment. The anathemas of the church were fortified by a ſort of civil excommunication; which ſeparated them from their fellow-citizens, by a peculiar brand of infamy; and this declaration of the ſupreme magiſtrate tended to juſtify, or at leaſt to excuſe, the inſults of a fanatic populace. The ſectaries were gradually diſqualified for the poſſeſſion of honourable, or lucrative, employments; and Theodoſius was ſatisfied with his own juſtice, when he decreed, that, as the Eunomians diſtinguiſhed the nature of the Son from that of the Father, they ſhould be incapable of making their wills, or of receiving any advantage from teſtamentary donations. The guilt of the Manichæan hereſy was eſteemed of ſuch magnitude, that it could be expiated only by the death of the offender; and the ſame capital puniſhment was inflicted on the Audians, or *Quartodecimans* (49), who ſhould dare

(49) They always kept their Eaſter, like the Jewiſh Paſſover, on the fourteenth day of the firſt moon after the vernal equinox; and

dare to perpetrate the atrocious crime, of celebrating, on an improper day, the feſtival of Eaſter. Every Roman might exerciſe the right of public accuſation; but the office of *Inquiſitors* of the Faith, a name ſo deſervedly abhorred, was firſt inſtituted under the reign of Theodoſius. Yet we are aſſured, that the execution of his penal edicts were ſeldom enforced; and that the pious emperor appeared leſs deſirous to puniſh, than to reclaim, or terrify, his refractory ſubjects (50).

Execution of Priſcillian and his aſſociates, A. D. 385.

The theory of perſecution was eſtabliſhed by Theodoſius, whoſe juſtice and piety have been applauded by the ſaints; but the practice of it, in the fulleſt extent, was reſerved for his rival and colleague Maximus, the firſt, among the Chriſtian princes, who ſhed the blood of his Chriſtian ſubjects, on account of their religious opinions. The cauſe of the Priſcillianiſts (51), a recent ſect of heretics, who diſturbed the provinces of Spain, was transferred, by appeal, from the ſynod of Bourdeaux to the Imperial conſiſtory of Treves; and by the ſentence of the Prætorian præfect, ſeven perſons were tortured, condemned and executed. The firſt of theſe was Priſcillian (52) himſelf, biſhop of Avila

and thus pertinaciouſly oppoſed the Roman church and Nicene ſynod, which had *fixed* Eaſter to a Sunday. Bingham's Antiquities, l. xx. c. 5. vol. ii. p. 309. fol. edit.

(50) Sozomen, l. vii. c. 12.

(51) See the ſacred hiſtory of Sulpicius Severus (l. ii. p. 437—452. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647.), a correct and original writer. Dr. Lardner (Credibility, &c. part ii. vol. ix. p. 256—330.) has laboured this article, with pure learning, good ſenſe, and moderation. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. viii. p. 491—527.) has raked together all the dirt of the fathers; an uſeful ſcavenger!

(52) Severus Sulpicius mentions the arch-heretic with eſteem and pity. Fælix profecto, ſi non pravo ſtudio corrumpiſſet optimum ingenium; prorſus multa in eo animi et corporis bona cerneres (Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 439.). Even Jerom (tom. i. in Script. Eccleſ. p. 302.) ſpeaks with temper of Priſcillian and Latronian.

la (53), in Spain; who adorned the advantages of birth and fortune, by the accompliſhments of eloquence and learning. Two Preſbyters, and two deacons, accompanied their beloved maſter in his death, which they eſteemed as a glorious martyrdom; and the number of religious victims was completed by the execution of Latronian, a poet, who rivalled the fame of the ancients; and of Euchrocia, a noble matron of Bourdeaux, the widow of the orator Delphidius (54). Two biſhops, who had embraced the ſentiments of Priſcillian, were condemned to a diſtant and dreary exile (55); and ſome indulgence was ſhewn to the meaner criminals, who aſſumed the merit of an early repentance. If any credit could be allowed to confeſſions extorted by fear or pain, and to vague reports, the offſpring of malice and credulity, the hereſy of the Priſcillianiſts would be found to include the various abominations of magic, of impiety, and of lewdneſs (56). Priſcillian, who wandered about the world in the company of his ſpiritual ſiſters, was accuſed of praying ſtark-naked in the midſt of the congregation; and it was confidently aſſerted, that the effects of his criminal intercourſe with

(53) The biſhopric (in Old Caſtile) is now worth 20,000 ducats a year (Buſching's Geography, vol. ii. p. 308.), and is therefore much leſs likely to produce the author of a new hereſy.

(54) Exprobabatur mulieri viduæ nimia religio, et diligentius culta divinitas (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 29.). Such was the idea of a humane, though ignorant, polytheiſt.

(55) One of them was ſent in Syllinam inſulam quæ ultra Britanniam eſt. What muſt have been the ancient condition of the rocks of Scilly (Cambden's Britannia, vol. ii. p. 1519.)?

(56) The ſcandalous calumnies of Auguſtin, Pope Leo, &c. which Tillemont ſwallows like a child, and Lardner refutes like a man, may ſuggeſt ſome candid ſuſpicions in favour of the older Gnoſtics.

with the daughter of Euchrocia, had been ſuppreſſed, by means ſtill more odious and criminal. But an accurate, or rather a candid, enquiry, will diſcover, that if the Priſcillianiſts violated the laws of nature, it was not by the licentiouſneſs, but by the auſterity, of their lives. They abſolutely condemned the uſe of the marriage bed; and the peace of families was often diſturbed by indiſcreet ſeparations. They enjoined, or recommended, a total abſtinence from all animal food; and their continual prayers, faſts, and vigils, inculcated a rule of ſtrict and perfect devotion. The ſpeculative tenets of the ſect, concerning the perſon of Chriſt, and the nature of the human ſoul, were derived from the Gnoſtic and Manichæan ſyſtem; and this vain philoſophy, which had been tranſported from Egypt to Spain, was ill adapted to the groſſer ſpirits of the Weſt. The obſcure diſciples of Priſcillian ſuffered, languiſhed, and gradually diſappeared: his tenets were rejected by the clergy and people, but his death was the ſubject of a long and vehement controverſy; while ſome arraigned, and others applauded, the juſtice of his ſentence. It is with pleaſure that we can obſerve, the humane inconſiſtency of the moſt illuſtrious ſaints and biſhops, Ambroſe of Milan (57), and Martin of Tours (58); who, on this occaſion, aſſerted the cauſe of toleration. They pitied the unhappy men, who had been executed at Treves; they refuſed to hold communion with their epiſcopal murderers; and if

(57) Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. xxiv. p. 891.

(58) In the Sacred Hiſtory, and the life of St. Martin, Sulpicius Severus uſes ſome caution; but he declares himſelf more freely in the Dialogues (iii. 15.). Martin was reproved, however, by his own conſcience, and by an angel; nor could he afterwards perform miracles with ſo much eaſe.

Martin deviated from that generous reſolution, his motives were laudable, and his repentance was exemplary. The biſhops of Tours and Milan pronounced, without heſitation, the eternal damnation of heretics; but they were ſurpriſed, and ſhocked, by the bloody image of their temporal death, and the honeſt feelings of nature reſiſted the artificial prejudices of theology. The humanity of Ambroſe and Martin was confirmed by the ſcandalous irregularity of the proceedings againſt Priſcillian, and his adherents. The civil and eccleſiaſtical miniſters had tranſgreſſed the limits of their reſpective provinces. The ſecular judge had preſumed to receive an appeal, and to pronounce a definitive ſentence, in a matter of faith, and epiſcopal juriſdiction. The biſhops had diſgraced themſelves, by exerciſing the functions of accuſers in a criminal proſecution. The cruelty of Ithacius (59), who beheld the tortures, and ſolicited the death, of the heretics, provoked the juſt indignation of mankind; and the vices of that profligate biſhop were admitted as a proof, that his zeal was inſtigated by the ſordid motives of intereſt. Since the death of Priſcillian, the rude attempts of perſecution have been refined and methodiſed in the holy office, which aſſigns their diſtinct parts to the eccleſiaſtical and ſecular powers. The devoted victim is regularly delivered by the prieſt to the magiſtrate, and by the magiſtrate to the executioner; and the inexorable ſentence of the church, which declares the ſpiritual guilt of the offender, is expreſſed in the mild language of pity and interceſſion.

Among

(59) The Catholic preſbyter (Sulp. Sever. l. ii. p. 448.), and the pagan Orator (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 29.), reprobate, with equal indignation, the character and conduct of Ithacius.

Among the eccleſiaſtics, who illuſtrated the reign of Theodoſius, Gregory Nazianzen was diſtinguiſhed by the talents of an eloquent preacher; the reputation of miraculous gifts, added weight and dignity to the monaſtic virtues of Martin of Tours (60); but the palm of epiſcopal vigour and ability was juſtly claimed by the intrepid Ambroſe (61). He was deſcended from a noble family of Romans; his father had exerciſed the important office of Prætorian præfect of Gaul; and the ſon, after paſſing through the ſtudies of a liberal education, attained, in the regular gradation of civil honours, the ſtation of conſular of Liguria, a province which included the Imperial reſidence of Milan. At the age of thirty-four, and before he had received the ſacrament of baptiſm, Ambroſe, to his own ſurpriſe, and to that of the world, was ſuddenly transformed from a governor to an archbiſhop. Without the leaſt mixture, as it is ſaid, of art or intrigue, the whole body of the people unanimouſly ſaluted him with the epiſcopal title; the concord and perſeverance of their acclamations were aſcribed to a præternatural impulſe; and the reluctant magiſtrate was compelled to undertake a ſpiritual office, for which he was not prepared by the habits and occupations of his former life. But the active force of his genius ſoon qualified him to exerciſe, with zeal and

Ambroſe, archbiſhop of Milan, A. D. 374—397.

(60) The life of St. Martin, and the Dialogues concerning his miracles, contain facts adapted to the groſſeſt barbariſm, in a ſtyle not unworthy of the Auguſtan age. So natural is the alliance between good taſte and good ſenſe, that I am always aſtoniſhed by this contraſt.

(61) The ſhort and ſuperficial life of St. Ambroſe, by his deacon Paulinus (Appendix ad edit. Benedict. p. i—xv.), has the merit of original evidence. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 78—306.), and the Benedictine editors (p. xxxi—lxiii.), have laboured with their uſual diligence.

prudence, the duties of his eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and, while he chearfully renounced the vain and ſpendid trappings of temporal greatneſs, he condeſcended, for the good of the church, to direct the conſcience of the emperors, and to controul the adminiſtration of the empire. Gratian loved and revered him as a father; and the elaborate treatiſe on the faith of the Trinity, was deſigned for the inſtruction of the young prince. After his tragic death, at a time when the empreſs Juſtina trembled for her own ſafety, and for that of her ſon Valentinian, the archbiſhop of Milan was diſpatched, on two different embaſſies, to the court of Treves. He exerciſed, with equal firmneſs and dexterity, the powers of his ſpiritual and political characters; and perhaps contributed, by his authority and eloquence, to check the ambition of Maximus, and to protect the peace of Italy (62). Ambroſe had devoted his life, and his abilities, to the ſervice of the church. Wealth was the object of his contempt; he had renounced his private patrimony; and he ſold, without heſitation, the conſecrated plate for the redemption of captives. The clergy and people of Milan were attached to their archbiſhop; and he deſerved the eſteem, without ſoliciting the favour, or apprehending the diſpleaſure, of his feeble ſovereigns.

His ſucceſsful oppoſition to the empreſs Juſtina, A. D. 385, April 3—April 10.

The government of Italy, and of the young emperor, naturally devolved to his mother Juſtina, a woman of beauty and ſpirit, but who, in the midſt of an orthodox people, had the misfortune of profeſſing the Arian hereſy, which ſhe endeavoured to inſtil into the mind of her ſon.

(62) Ambroſe himſelf (tom. ii. epiſt. xxiv. p. 888—891.) gives the emperor a very ſpirited account of his own embaſſy.

ſon. Juſtina was perſuaded, that a Roman emperor might claim, in his own dominions, the public exerciſe of his religion; and ſhe propoſed to the archbiſhop, as a moderate and reaſonable conceſſion, that he ſhould reſign the uſe of a ſingle church, either in the city or ſuburbs of Milan. But the conduct of Ambroſe was governed by very different principles (63). The palaces of the earth might indeed belong to Cæſar; but the churches were the houſes of God; and, within the limits of his dioceſe, he himſelf, as the lawful ſucceſſor of the apoſtles, was the only miniſter of God. The privileges of Chriſtianity, temporal as well as ſpiritual, were confined to the true believers; and the mind of Ambroſe was ſatisfied, that his own theological opinions were the ſtandard of truth and orthodoxy. The archbiſhop, who refuſed to hold any conference, or negociation, with the inſtruments of Satan, declared, with modeſt firmneſs, his reſolution to die a martyr, rather than to yield to the impious ſacrilege; and Juſtina, who reſented the refuſal as an act of inſolence and rebellion, haſtily determined to exert the Imperial prerogative of her ſon. As ſhe deſired to perform her public devotions on the approaching feſtival of Eaſter, Ambroſe was ordered to appear before the council. He obeyed the ſummons with the reſpect of a faithful ſubject, but he was followed, without his conſent, by an innumerable people: they preſſed, with impetuous zeal, againſt the gates of the palace; and the affrighted

(63) His own repreſentation of his principles and conduct (tom. ii. epiſt. xx. xxi. xxii. p. 852—880.) is one of the curious monuments of eccleſiaſtical antiquity. It contains two letters to his ſiſter Marcellina, with a petition to Valentinian, and the ſermon *de Baſilicis non tradendis*.

affrighted miniſters of Valentinian, inſtead of pronouncing a ſentence of exile on the archbiſhop of Milan, humbly requeſted that he would interpoſe his authority, to protect the perſon of the emperor, and to reſtore the tranquillity of the capital. But the promiſes which Ambroſe received and communicated, were ſoon violated by a perfidious court; and, during ſix of the moſt ſolemn days, which Chriſtian piety has ſet apart for the exerciſe of religion, the city was agitated by the irregular convulſions of tumult and fanaticiſm. The officers of the houſehold were directed to prepare, firſt, the Portian, and afterwards, the new, *Baſilica*, for the immediate reception of the emperor, and his mother. The ſplendid canopy and hangings of the royal ſeat were arranged in the cuſtomary manner; but it was found neceſſary to defend them, by a ſtrong guard, from the inſults of the populace. The Arian eccleſiaſtics, who ventured to ſhew themſelves in the ſtreets, were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger of their lives: and Ambroſe enjoyed the merit and reputation of reſcuing his perſonal enemies from the hands of the enraged multitude.

But while he laboured to reſtrain the effects of their zeal, the pathetic vehemence of his ſermons continually inflamed the angry and ſeditious temper of the people of Milan. The characters of Eve, of the wife of Job, of Jezabel, of Herodias, were indecently applied to the mother of the emperor; and her deſire to obtain a church for the Arians, was compared to the moſt cruel perſecutions which Chriſtianity had endured under the reign of Paganiſm. The meaſures of the court ſerved only to expoſe the magnitude of the evil. A fine of two hundred pounds

pounds of gold was impoſed on the corporate body of merchants and manufacturers: an order was ſignified, in the name of the emperor, to all the officers, and inferior ſervants, of the courts of juſtice, that, during the continuance of the public diſorders, they ſhould ſtrictly confine themſelves to their houſes: and the miniſters of Valentinian imprudently confeſſed, that the moſt reſpectable part of the citizens of Milan was attached to the cauſe of their archbiſhop. He was again ſolicited to reſtore peace to his country, by a timely compliance with the will of his ſovereign. The reply of Ambroſe was couched in the moſt humble and reſpectful terms, which might, however, be interpreted as a ſerious declaration of civil war. "His life and fortune "were in the hands of the emperor; but he "would never betray the church of Chriſt, or "degrade the dignity of the epiſcopal character. "In ſuch a cauſe, he was prepared to ſuffer "whatever the malice of the dæmon could in-"flict; and he only wiſhed to die in the preſence "of his faithful flock, and at the foot of the "altar; *he* had not contributed to excite, but it "was in the power of God alone to appeaſe, the "rage of the people: he deprecated the ſcenes "of blood and confuſion, which were likely "to enſue; and it was his fervent prayer, that he "might not ſurvive to behold the ruin of a flou-"riſhing city, and perhaps the deſolation of all "Italy (64)." The obſtinate bigotry of Juſtina would

(64) Retz had a ſimilar meſſage from the queen, to requeſt that he would appeaſe the tumult of Paris. It was no longer in his power, &c. A quoi j'ajoutai tout ce que vous pouvez vous imaginer de reſpect, de douleur, de regret, et de ſoumiſſion, &c. (Memoires, tom. i. p. 140.) Certainly I do not compare either the cauſes, or the men; yet the coadjutor himſelf had ſome idea (p. 84.) of imitating St. Ambroſe.

would have endangered the empire of her ſon, if, in this conteſt with the church and people of Milan, ſhe could have depended on the active obedience of the troops of the palace. A large body of Goths had marched to occupy the *Baſilica*, which was the object of the diſpute: and it might be expected from the Arian principles, and barbarous manners, of theſe foreign mercenaries, that they would not entertain any ſcruples in the execution of the moſt ſanguinary orders. They were encountered, on the ſacred threſhold, by the archbiſhop, who, thundering againſt them a ſentence of excommunication, aſked them, in the tone of a father and a maſter, Whether it was to invade the houſe of God, that they had implored the hoſpitable protection of the republic? The ſuſpenſe of the barbarians allowed ſome hours for a more effectual negociation; and the empreſs was perſuaded, by the advice of her wiſeſt counſellors, to leave the Catholics in poſſeſſion of all the churches of Milan; and to diſſemble, till a more convenient ſeaſon, her intentions of revenge. The mother of Valentinian could never forgive the triumph of Ambroſe; and the royal youth uttered a paſſionate exclamation, that his own ſervants were ready to betray him into the hands of an inſolent prieſt.

A. D. 386. The laws of the empire, ſome of which were inſcribed with the name of Valentinian, ſtill condemned the Arian hereſy, and ſeemed to excuſe the reſiſtance of the Catholics. By the influence of Juſtina, an edict of toleration was promulgated in all the provinces which were ſubject to the court of Milan; the free exerciſe of their religion was granted to thoſe who profeſſed the faith of Rimini; and the emperor declared, that all

all perſons who ſhould infringe this ſacred and ſalutary conſtitution, ſhould be capitally puniſhed, as the enemies of the public peace (65). The character and language of the archbiſhop of Milan may juſtify the ſuſpicion, that his conduct ſoon afforded a reaſonable ground, or at leaſt a ſpecious pretence, to the Arian miniſters; who watched the opportunity of ſurpriſing him in ſome act of diſobedience to a law, which he ſtrangely repreſents as a law of blood and tyranny. A ſentence of eaſy and honourable baniſhment was pronounced, which enjoined Ambroſe to depart from Milan without delay; whilſt it permitted him to chuſe the place of his exile, and the number of his companions. But the authority of the ſaints, who have preached and practiſed the maxims of paſſive loyalty, appeared to Ambroſe of leſs moment than the extreme and preſſing danger of the church. He boldly refuſed to obey; and his refuſal was ſupported by the unanimous conſent of his faithful people (66). They guarded by turns the perſon of their archbiſhop; the gates of the cathedral and the epiſcopal palace were ſtrongly ſecured; and the Imperial troops, who had formed the blockade, were unwilling to riſk the attack, of that impregnable fortreſs. The numerous poor, who had been relieved by the liberality of Ambroſe, embraced the fair occaſion of ſignaliſing their zeal and gratitude; and as the patience of the multitude might have been exhauſted by the length and uniformity of nocturnal vigils, he prudently introduced into the church of Milan the

(65) Sozomen alone (l. vii. c. 13.) throws this luminous fact into a dark and perplexed narrative.

(66) Excubabat pia plebs in eccleſiâ mori parata cum epiſcopo ſuo . . . Nos adhuc frigidi excitabamur tamen civitate attonitâ atque turbatâ. Auguſtin. Confeſſion. l. ix. c. 7.

the uſeful inſtitution of a loud and regular pſalmody. While he maintained this arduous conteſt, he was inſtructed, by a dream, to open the earth in a place where the remains of two martyrs, Gervaſius and Protaſius (67), had been depoſited above three hundred years. Immediately under the pavement of the church two perfect ſkeletons were found (68), with the heads ſeparated from their bodies, and a plentiful effuſion of blood. The holy relics were preſented, in ſolemn pomp, to the veneration of the people; and every circumſtance of this fortunate diſcovery was admirably adapted to promote the deſigns of Ambroſe. The bones of the martyrs, their blood, their garments, were ſuppoſed to contain a healing power; and the præternatural influence was communicated to the moſt diſtant objects, without loſing any part of its original virtue. The extraordinary cure of a blind man (69), and the reluctant confeſſions of ſeveral dæmoniacs, appeared to juſtify the faith and ſanctity of Ambroſe; and the truth of thoſe miracles is atteſted by Ambroſe himſelf, by his ſecretary

(67) Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ii. p. 78. 498. Many churches in Italy, Gaul, &c. were dedicated to theſe unknown martyrs, of whom St. Gervaſe ſeems to have been more fortunate than his companion.

(68) Invenimus miræ magnitudinis viros duos, ut priſca ætas ferebat. Tom. ii. epiſt. xxii. p. 875. The ſize of theſe ſkeletons was fortunately, or ſkilfully, ſuited to the popular prejudice of the gradual decreaſe of the human ſtature; which has prevailed in every age ſince the time of Homer.

Grandiaque effoſſis mirabitur oſſa ſepulchris.

(69) Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. xxii. p. 875. Auguſtin. Confeſ. l. ix. c. 7. de Civitat. Dei, l. xxii. c. 8. Paulin. in Vitâ S. Ambroſ. c. 14. in Append. Benedict. p. 4. The blind man's name was Severus; he touched the holy garment, recovered his ſight, and devoted the reſt of his life (at leaſt twenty-five years) to the ſervice of the church. I ſhould recommend this miracle to our divines, if it did not prove the worſhip of relics, as well as the Nicene creed.

ſecretary Paulinus, and by his proſelyte, the celebrated Auguſtin, who, at that time, profeſſed the art of rhetoric in Milan. The reaſon of the preſent age may poſſibly approve the incredulity of Juſtina and her Arian court; who derided the theatrical repreſentations, which were exhibited by the contrivance, and at the expence, of the archbiſhop (70). Their effect, however, on the minds of the people, was rapid and irreſiſtible; and the feeble ſovereign of Italy found himſelf unable to contend with the favourite of heaven. The powers likewiſe of the earth interpoſed in the defence of Ambroſe: the diſintereſted advice of Theodoſius was the genuine reſult of piety and friendſhip; and the maſk of religious zeal concealed the hoſtile and ambitious deſigns of the tyrant of Gaul (71).

Maximus invades Italy, A. D. 387. Auguſt.

The reign of Maximus might have ended in peace and proſperity, could he have contented himſelf with the poſſeſſion of three ample countries, which now conſtitute the three moſt flouriſhing kingdoms of modern Europe. But the aſpiring uſurper, whoſe ſordid ambition was not dignified by the love of glory and of arms, conſidered his actual forces as the inſtruments only of his future greatneſs, and his ſucceſs was the immediate cauſe of his deſtruction. The wealth which he extorted (72) from the oppreſſed provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was employed

(70) Paulin. in Vit. S. Ambroſ. c. 5. in Append. Benedict. p. 5.

(71) Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 190. 750. He partly allows the mediation of Theodoſius; and capriciouſly rejects that of Maximus, though it is atteſted by Proſper, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

(72) The modeſt cenſure of Sulpicius (Dialog. iii. 15.) inflicts a much deeper wound than the feeble declamation of Pacatus (xii. 25, 26.).

ed in levying and maintaining a formidable army of Barbarians, collected, for the moſt part, from the fierceſt nations of Germany. The conqueſt of Italy was the object of his hopes and preparations; and he ſecretly meditated the ruin of an innocent youth, whoſe government was abhorred and deſpiſed by his Catholic ſubjects. But as Maximus wiſhed to occupy, without reſiſtance, the paſſes of the Alps, he received, with perfidious ſmiles, Domninus of Syria, the ambaſſador of Valentinian, and preſſed him to accept the aid of a conſiderable body of troops, for the ſervice of a Pannonian war. The penetration of Ambroſe had diſcovered the ſnares of an enemy under the profeſſions of friendſhip (73); but the Syrian Domninus was corrupted, or deceived, by the liberal favour of the court of Treves; and the council of Milan obſtinately rejected the ſuſpicion of danger, with a blind confidence, which was the effect, not of courage, but of fear. The march of the auxiliaries was guided by the ambaſſador; and they were admitted, without diſtruſt, into the fortreſſes of the Alps. But the crafty tyrant followed, with haſty and ſilent footſteps, in the rear; and, as he diligently intercepted all intelligence of his motions, the gleam of armour, and the duſt excited by the troops of cavalry, firſt announced the hoſtile approach of a ſtranger to the gates of Milan. In this extremity, Juſtina and her ſon might accuſe their own imprudence, and the perfidious arts of Maximus; but they wanted time, and force, and reſolution, to ſtand againſt the Gauls and Germans, either in the field,

(73) Eſto tutior adverſus hominem, pacis involucro tegentem, was the wiſe caution of Ambroſe (tom. ii. p. 891.), after his return from his ſecond embaſſy.

field, or within the walls of a large and diſaffected city. Flight was their only hope, Aquileia their only refuge; and as Maximus now diſplayed his genuine character, the brother of Gratian might expect the ſame fate from the hands of the ſame aſſaſſin. Maximus entered Milan in triumph; and if the wiſe archbiſhop refuſed a dangerous and criminal connection with the uſurper, he might indirectly contribute to the ſucceſs of his arms, by inculcating, from the pulpit, the duty of reſignation, rather than that of reſiſtance (74). The unfortunate Juſtina reached Aquileia in ſafety; but ſhe diſtruſted the ſtrength of the fortifications; ſhe dreaded the event of a ſiege; and ſhe reſolved to implore the protection of the great Theodoſius, whoſe power and virtue were celebrated in all the countries of the Weſt. A veſſel was ſecretly provided to tranſport the Imperial family; they embarked with precipitation in one of the obſcure harbours of Venetia, or Iſtria; traverſed the whole extent of the Hadriatic and Ionian ſeas; turned the extreme promontory of Peloponneſus; and, after a long, but ſucceſsful, navigation, repoſed themſelves in the port of Theſſalonica. All the ſubjects of Valentinian deſerted the cauſe of a prince, who, by his abdication, had abſolved them from the duty of allegiance; and if the little city of Æmona, on the verge of Italy, had not preſumed to ſtop the career of his inglorious victory, Maximus would have obtained, without a ſtruggle, the ſole poſſeſſion of the weſtern empire.

Flight of Valentinian.

Inſtead

(74) Baronius (A. D. 387. No. 63.) applies to this ſeaſon of public diſtreſs ſome of the penitential ſermons of the archbiſhop.

Theodoſius takes arms in the cauſe of Valentinian, A. D. 387.

Inſtead of inviting his royal gueſts to the palace of Conſtantinople, Theodoſius had ſome unknown reaſons to fix their reſidence at Theſſalonica; but theſe reaſons did not proceed from contempt or indifference, as he ſpeedily made a viſit to that city, accompanied by the greateſt part of his court and ſenate. After the firſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip and ſympathy, the pious emperor of the Eaſt gently admoniſhed Juſtina, that the guilt of hereſy was ſometimes puniſhed in this world, as well as in the next; and that the public profeſſion of the Nicene faith, would be the moſt efficacious ſtep to promote the reſtoration of her ſon, by the ſatisfaction which it muſt occaſion both on earth and in heaven. The momentous queſtion of peace or war was referred, by Theodoſius; to the deliberation of his council; and the arguments which might be alleged on the ſide of honour and juſtice, had acquired, ſince the death of Gratian, a conſiderable degree of additional weight. The perſecution of the Imperial family, to which Theodoſius himſelf had been indebted for his fortune, was now aggravated by recent and repeated injuries. Neither oaths nor treaties could reſtrain the boundleſs ambition of Maximus; and the delay of vigorous and deciſive meaſures, inſtead of prolonging the bleſſings of peace, would expoſe the eaſtern empire to the danger of an hoſtile invaſion. The Barbarians, who had paſſed the Danube, had lately aſſumed the character of ſoldiers and ſubjects, but their native fierceneſs was yet untamed; and the operations of a war, which would exerciſe their valour, and diminiſh their numbers, might tend to relieve the provinces from an intolerable oppreſſion. Notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious and ſolid reaſons, which were approved

roved by a majority of the council, Theodoſius ill heſitated whether he ſhould draw the ſword a conteſt, which could no longer admit any rms of reconciliation; and his magnanimous haracter was not diſgraced by the apprehenſions hich he felt for the ſafety of his infant ſons, and he welfare of his exhauſted people. In this noment of anxious doubt, while the fate of the Roman world depended on the reſolution of a ngle man, the charms of the princeſs Galla noſt powerfully pleaded the cauſe of her bro-her Valentinian (75). The heart of Theodoſius was ſoftened by the tears of beauty; his affec-ions were inſenſibly engaged by the graces of youth and innocence; the art of Juſtina manag-d and directed the impulſe of paſſion; and the celebration of the royal nuptials was the aſſurance and ſignal of the civil war. The unfeeling critics, who conſider every amorous weakneſs as an indelible ſtain on the memory of a great and orthodox emperor, are inclined, on this occaſion, to diſpute the ſuſpicious evidence of the hiſtorian Zoſimus. For my own part, I ſhall frankly confeſs, that I am willing to find, or even to ſeek, in the revolutions of the world, ſome traces of the mild and tender ſentiments of do-meſtic life; and, amidſt the crowd of fierce and ambitious conquerors, I can diſtinguiſh, with peculiar complacency, a gentle hero, who may be ſuppoſed to receive his armour from the hands of love. The alliance of the Perſian king was ſecured

(75) The flight of Valentinian, and the love of Theodoſius for his ſiſter, are related by Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 263, 264.). Tille-mont produces ſome weak and ambiguous evidence to antedate the ſecond marriage of Theodoſius (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 740.), and conſequently to refute ces contes de Zoſime, qui ſe-roient trop contraires à la pieté des Theodoſe.

ſecured by the faith of treaties; the martial Barbarians were perſuaded to follow the ſtandard, or to reſpect the frontiers, of an active and liberal monarch; and the dominions of Theodoſius, from the Euphrates to the Hadriatic, reſounded with the preparations of war both by land and ſea. The ſkilful diſpoſition of the forces of the Eaſt ſeemed to multiply their numbers, and diſtracted the attention of Maximus. He had reaſon to fear, that a choſen body of troops, under the command of the intrepid Arbogaſtes, would direct their march along the banks of the Danube, and boldly penetrate through the Rhætian provinces into the centre of Gaul. A powerful fleet was equipped in the harbours of Greece and Epirus, with an apparent deſign, that as ſoon as the paſſage had been opened by a naval victory, Valentinian, and his mother, ſhould land in Italy, proceed, without delay, to Rome, and occupy the majeſtic ſeat of religion and empire. In the mean while, Theodoſius himſelf advanced at the head of a brave and diſciplined army, to encounter his unworthy rival, who, after the ſiege of Æmona, had fixed his camp in the neighbourhood of Siſcia, a city of Pannonia, ſtrongly fortified by the broad and rapid ſtream of the Save.

Defeat and death of Maximus, A. D. 388, June—Auguſt.

The veterans, who ſtill remembered the long reſiſtance, and ſucceſſive reſources, of the tyrant Magnentius, might prepare themſelves for the labours of three bloody campaigns. But the conteſt with his ſucceſſor, who, like him, had uſurped the throne of the Weſt, was eaſily decided in the term of two months (76), and within the

(76) See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, Cod. Theodoſ. tom. i. p. cxix.

the ſpace of two hundred miles. The ſuperior genius of the emperor of the Eaſt might prevail over the feeble Maximus; who, in this important criſis, ſhewed himſelf deſtitute of military ſkill, or perſonal courage; but the abilities of Theodoſius were ſeconded by the advantage which he poſſeſſed of a numerous and active cavalry. The Huns, the Alani, and, after their example, the Goths themſelves, were formed into ſquadrons of archers; who fought on horſeback, and confounded the ſteady valour of the Gauls and Germans, by the rapid motions of a Tartan war. After the fatigue of a long march, in the heat of ſummer, they ſpurred their foaming horſes into the waters of the Save, ſwam the river in the preſence of the enemy, and inſtantly charged and routed the troops who guarded the high ground on the oppoſite ſide. Marcellinus, the tyrant's brother, advanced to ſupport them with the ſelect cohorts, which were conſidered as the hope and ſtrength of the army. The action, which had been interrupted by the approach of night, was renewed in the morning; and, after a ſharp conflict, the ſurviving remnant of the braveſt ſoldiers of Maximus threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Without ſuſpending his march, to receive the loyal acclamations of the citizens of Æmona, Theodoſius preſſed forwards, to terminate the war by the death or captivity of his rival, who fled before him with the diligence of fear. From the ſummit of the Julian Alps, he deſcended with ſuch incredible ſpeed into the plain of Italy, that he reached Aquileia on the evening of the firſt day; and Maximus, who found himſelf encompaſſed on all ſides, had ſcarcely time to ſhut the gates of the city. But the gates could not long reſiſt the ef-

fort of a victorious enemy; and the deſpair, the diſaffection, the indifference of the ſoldiers and people, haſtened the downfall of the wretched Maximus. He was dragged from his throne, rudely ſtripped of the Imperial ornaments, the robe, the diadem, and the purple ſlippers; and conducted, like a malefactor, to the camp and preſence of Theodoſius, at a place about three miles from Aquileia. The behaviour of the emperor was not intended to inſult, and he ſhewed ſome diſpoſition to pity and forgive, the tyrant of the Weſt, who had never been his perſonal enemy, and was now become the object of his contempt. Our ſympathy is the moſt forcibly excited by the misfortunes to which we are expoſed; and the ſpectacle of a proud competitor, now proſtrate at his feet, could not fail of producing very ſerious and ſolemn thoughts in the mind of the victorious emperor. But the feeble emotion of involuntary pity was checked by his regard for public juſtice, and the memory of Gratian; and he abandoned the victim to the pious zeal of the ſoldiers, who drew him out of the Imperial preſence, and inſtantly ſeparated his head from his body. The intelligence of his defeat and death was received with ſincere, or well-diſſembled, joy; his ſon Victor, on whom he had conferred the title of Auguſtus, died by the order, perhaps by the hand, of the bold Arbogaſtes; and all the military plans of Theodoſius were ſucceſsfully executed. When he had thus terminated the civil war, with leſs difficulty and bloodſhed than he might naturally expect, he employed the winter months of his reſidence at Milan, to reſtore the ſtate of the afflicted provinces; and early in the ſpring he made, after the example of Conſtantine and Conſtantius, his triumphal entry

ntry into the ancient capital of the Roman empire (77).

The orator, who may be ſilent without danger, may praiſe without difficulty, and without reluctance (78); and poſterity will confeſs, that he character of Theodoſius (79) might furniſh he ſubject of a ſincere and ample panegyric. The wiſdom of his laws, and the ſucceſs of his rms, rendered his adminiſtration reſpectable in he eyes both of his ſubjects, and of his enemies. He loved and practiſed the virtues of domeſtic ife, which ſeldom hold their reſidence in the paaces of kings. Theodoſius was chaſte and temperate; he enjoyed, without exceſs, the ſenſual nd ſocial pleaſures of the table; and the warmth f his amorous paſſions was never diverted from heir lawful objects. The proud titles of Impeial greatneſs were adorned by the tender names f a faithful huſband, an indulgent father; his ncle was raiſed, by his affectionate eſteem, to he rank of a ſecond parent: Theodoſius embraced, as his own, the children of his brother nd ſiſter; and the expreſſions of his regard were

Virtues of Theodoſius.

(77) Beſides the hints which may be gathered from chronicles nd eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, Zoſimus (l. iv. 259—267.), Oroſius (l. ii. c. 35.), and Pacatus (in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 30—47.), ſupply he looſe and ſcanty materials of this civil war. Ambroſe (tom. . epiſt. xl. p. 952, 953.) darkly alludes to the well-known events f a magazine ſurpriſed, an action at Petovio, a Sicilian, perhaps naval, victory, &c. Auſonius (p. 256. edit. Toll.) applauds he peculiar merit, and good fortune, of Aquileia.

(78) Quam promptum laudare principem, tam tutum ſiluiſſe principe (Pacat. in Panegyr. Vet. xii. 2.). Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, a native of Gaul, pronounced this oration at Rome A. D. 388.). He was afterwards proconſul of Africa; and his riend Auſonius praiſes him as a poet, ſecond only to Virgil. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 303.

(79) See the fair portrait of Theodoſius, by the younger Victor; the ſtrokes are diſtinct, and the colours are mixed. The raiſe of Pacatus is too vague; and Claudian always ſeems afraid f exalting the father above the ſon.

extended to the moſt diſtant and obſcure branches of his numerous kindred. His familiar friends were judiciouſly ſelected from among thoſe perſons, who, in the equal intercourſe of private life, had appeared before his eyes without a maſk: the conſciouſneſs of perſonal and ſuperior merit enabled him to deſpiſe the accidental diſtinction of the purple; and he proved by his conduct, that he had forgotten all the injuries while he moſt gratefully remembered all the favours and ſervices, which he had received before he aſcended the throne of the Roman empire. The ſerious, or lively, tone of his converſation was adapted to the age, the rank, or the character, of his ſubjects whom he admitted into his ſociety; and the affability of his manners diſplayed the image of his mind. Theodoſius reſpected the ſimplicity of the good and virtuous every art, every talent, of an uſeful, or even an innocent, nature, was rewarded by his judicious liberality; and, except the heretics, whom he perſecuted with implacable hatred, the diffuſive circle of his benevolence was circumſcribed only by the limits of the human race. The government of a mighty empire may aſſuredly ſuffice to occupy the time, and the abilities, of a mortal: yet the diligent prince, without aſpiring to the unſuitable reputation of profound learning, always reſerved ſome moments of his leiſure for the inſtructive amuſement of reading. Hiſtory, which enlarged his experience, was his favourite ſtudy. The annals of Rome, in the long period of eleven hundred years, preſented him with a various and ſplendid picture of human life; and it has been particularly obſerved, that whenever he peruſed the cruel acts of Cinna, or Marius, or of Sylla, he warmly expreſſed his generous de-

teſtation

teſtation of thoſe enemies of humanity and freedom. His diſintereſted opinion of paſt events was uſefully applied as the rule of his own actions; and Theodoſius has deſerved the ſingular commendation, that his virtues always ſeemed to expand with his fortune; the ſeaſon of his proſperity was that of his moderation; and his clemency appeared the moſt conſpicuous after the danger and ſucceſs of the civil war. The Mooriſh guards of the tyrant had been maſſacred in the firſt heat of the victory; and a ſmall number of the moſt obnoxious criminals ſuffered the puniſhment of the law. But the emperor ſhewed himſelf much more attentive to relieve the innocent, than to chaſtiſe the guilty. The oppreſſed ſubjects of the Weſt, who would have deemed themſelves happy in the reſtoration of their lands, were aſtoniſhed to receive a ſum of money equivalent to their loſſes; and the liberality of the conqueror ſupported the aged mother, and educated the orphan daughters of Maximus (80). A character thus accompliſhed, might almoſt excuſe the extravagant ſuppoſition of the orator Pacatus; that, if the elder Brutus could be permitted to reviſit the earth, the ſtern republican would abjure, at the feet of Theodoſius, his hatred of kings; and ingeniouſly confeſs, that ſuch a monarch was the moſt faithful guardian of the happineſs, and dignity, of the Roman people (81).

Faults of Theodoſius.

Yet the piercing eye of the founder of the republic muſt have diſcerned two eſſential imperfections, which might, perhaps, have abated his recent love of deſpotiſm. The virtuous mind

(80) Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. xl. p. 955. Pacatus, from the want of ſkill, or of courage, omits this glorious circumſtance.

(81) Pacat. in Pynegyr. Vet. xii. 20.

mind of Theodoſius was often relaxed by indolence (82), and it was ſometimes inflamed by paſſion (83). In the purſuit of an important object, his active courage was capable of the moſt vigorous exertions; but, as ſoon as the deſign was accompliſhed, or the danger was ſurmounted, the hero ſunk into inglorious repoſe; and, forgetful that the time of a prince is the property of his people, reſigned himſelf to the enjoyment of the innocent, but trifling, pleaſures of a luxurious court. The natural diſpoſition of Theodoſius was haſty and choleric; and, in a ſtation where none could reſiſt, and few would diſſuade, the fatal conſequence of his reſentment, the humane monarch was juſtly alarmed by the conſciouſneſs of his infirmity, and of his power. It was the conſtant ſtudy of his life to ſuppreſs, or regulate, the intemperate ſallies of paſſion; and the ſucceſs of his efforts enhanced the merit of his clemency. But the painful virtue which claims the merit of victory, is expoſed to the danger of defeat; and the reign of a wiſe and merciful prince was polluted by an act of cruelty, which would ſtain the annals of Nero or Domitian. Within the ſpace of three years, the inconſiſtent hiſtorian of Theodoſius muſt relate the generous pardon of the citizens of Antioch, and the inhuman maſſacre of the people of Theſſalonica.

The

(82) Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 271, 272. His partial evidence is marked by an air of candour and truth. He obſerves theſe viciſſitudes of ſloth, and activity, not as a vice, but as a ſingularity, in the character of Theodoſius.

(83) This choleric temper is acknowledged, and excuſed, by Victor. Sed habes (ſays Ambroſe, in decent and manly language, to his ſovereign) naturæ impetum, quem ſi quis lenire velit, cito vertes ad miſericordiam: ſi quis ſtimulet, in magis exſuſcitas, ut eum revocare vix poſſis (tom. ii. epiſt. li. p. 998.). Theodoſius (Claud. in iv. Conſ. Hon. 266, &c.) exhorts his ſon to moderate his anger.

The lively impatience of the inhabitants of Antioch was never ſatisfied with their own ſituation, or with the character, and conduct, of their ſucceſſive ſovereigns. The Arian ſubjects of Theodoſius deplored the loſs of their churches; and, as three rival biſhops diſputed the throne of Antioch, the ſentence which decided their pretenſions excited the murmurs of the two unſucceſsful congregations. The exigencies of the Gothic war, and the inevitable expence that accompanied the concluſion of the peace, had conſtrained the emperor to aggravate the weight of the public impoſitions; and the provinces of Aſia, as they had not been involved in the diſtreſs, were the leſs inclined to contribute to the relief, of Europe. The auſpicious period now approached of the tenth year of his reign; a feſtival more grateful to the ſoldiers, who received a liberal donative, than to the ſubjects, whoſe voluntary offerings had been long ſince converted into an extraordinary and oppreſſive burthen. The edicts of taxation interrupted the repoſe, and pleaſures, of Antioch; and the tribunal of the magiſtrate was beſieged by a ſuppliant crowd; who, in pathetic, but, at firſt, in reſpectful, language, ſolicited the redreſs of their grievances. They were gradually incenſed by the pride of their haughty rulers, who treated their complaints as a criminal reſiſtance; their ſatirical wit degenerated into ſharp and angry invectives; and, from the ſubordinate powers of government, the invectives of the people inſenſibly roſe to attack the ſacred character of the emperor himſelf. Their fury, provoked by a feeble oppoſition, diſcharged itſelf on the images of the Imperial family, which were erected, as objects of public veneration, in the moſt conſpicuous places of the

The ſeditiſon of Antioch, A.D. 387.

February 26.

the city. The ſtatues of Theodoſius, of his father, of his wife Flaccilla, of his two ſons, Arcadius and Honorius, were inſolently thrown down from their pedeſtals, broken in pieces, or dragged with contempt through the ſtreets: and the indignities which were offered to the repreſentations of Imperial majeſty, ſufficiently declared the impious and treaſonable wiſhes of the populace. The tumult was almoſt immediately ſuppreſſed by the arrival of a body of archers; and Antioch had leiſure to reflect on the nature and conſequences of her crime (84). According to the duty of his office, the governor of the province diſpatched a faithful narrative of the whole tranſaction; while the trembling citizens entruſted the confeſſion of their crime, and the aſſurances of their repentance, to the zeal of Flavian their biſhop, and to the eloquence of the ſenator Hilarius, the friend, and, moſt probably, the diſciple, of Libanius; whoſe genius, on this melancholy occaſion, was not uſeleſs to his country (85). But the two capitals, Antioch and Conſtantinople, were ſeparated by the diſtance of eight hundred miles; and, notwithſtanding the diligence of the Imperial poſts, the guilty city was ſeverely puniſhed by a long and dreadful interval of ſuſpence. Every rumour agitated the hopes and fears of the Antiochians; and they heard with terror, that their ſovereign, exaſperated by the inſult which had been offered to his own

(84) The Chriſtians and Pagans agreed in believing, that the ſedition of Antioch was excited by the dæmons. A gigantic woman (ſays Sozomen, l. vii. c. 23.) paraded the ſtreets with a ſcourge in her hand. An old man (ſays Libanius, Orat. xii. p. 396.) transformed himſelf into a youth, then a boy, &c.

(85) Zoſimus, in his ſhort and diſingenuous account (l. iv. p. 258, 259.), is certainly miſtaken in ſending Libanius himſelf to Conſtantinople. His own orations fix him at Antioch.

own ſtatues, and, more eſpecially, to thoſe of his beloved wife, had reſolved to level with the ground the offending city; and to maſſacre, without diſtinction, of age or ſex, the criminal inhabitants (86); many of whom were actually driven, by their apprehenſions, to ſeek a refuge in the mountains of Syria, and the adjacent deſert. At length, twenty-four days after the ſe- March 22.
dition, the general Hellebicus, and Cæſarius maſter of the offices, declared the will of the emperor, and the ſentence of Antioch. That proud capital was degraded from the rank of a city; and the metropolis of the Eaſt, ſtripped of its lands, its privileges, and its revenues, was ſubjected, under the humiliating denomination of a village, to the juriſdiction of Laodicea (87). The baths, the Circus, and the theatres, were ſhut: and, that every ſource of plenty and pleaſure might at the ſame time be intercepted, the diſtribution of corn was aboliſhed, by the ſevere inſtructions of Theodoſius. His commiſſioners then proceeded to inquire into the guilt of individuals; of thoſe who had perpetrated, and of thoſe who had not prevented, the deſtruction of the ſacred ſtatues. The tribunal of Hellebicus and Cæſarius, encompaſſed with armed ſoldiers, was erected in the midſt of the Forum. The nobleſt, and moſt wealthy, of the citizens of Antioch, appeared before them in chains; the examination was aſſiſted by the uſe of torture, and

(86) Libanius (Orat. i. p. 6. edit. Venet.) declares, that, under ſuch a reign, the fear of a maſſacre was groundleſs and abſurd, eſpecially in the emperor's abſence; for his preſence, according to the eloquent ſlave, might have given a ſanction to the moſt bloody acts.

(87) Laodicea, on the ſea-coaſt, ſixty-five miles from Antioch (ſee Noris Epoch. Syro-Maced. Diſſert. iii. p. 230.). The Antiochians were offended, that the dependent city of Seleucia ſhould preſume to intercede for them.

and their ſentence was pronounced or ſuſpended, according to the judgment of theſe extraordinary magiſtrates. The houſes of the criminals were expoſed to ſale, their wives and children were ſuddenly reduced, from affluence and luxury, to the moſt abject diſtreſs; and a bloody execution was expected to conclude the horrors of a day (88), which the preacher of Antioch, the eloquent Chryſoſtom, has repreſented as a lively image of the laſt and univerſal judgment of the world. But the miniſters of Theodoſius performed, with reluctance, the cruel taſk which had been aſſigned them: they dropped a gentle tear over the calamities of the people; and they liſtened with reverence to the preſſing ſolicitations of the monks and hermits, who deſcended in ſwarms from the mountains (89). Hellebicus and Cæſarius were perſuaded to ſuſpend the execution of their ſentence; and it was agreed, that the former ſhould remain at Antioch, while the latter returned, with all poſſible ſpeed, to Conſtantinople; and preſumed once more to conſult the will of his ſovereign. The reſentment of Theodoſius had already ſubſided; the deputies of the people, both the biſhop and the orator, had obtained a favourable audience; and the reproaches of the emperor were the complaints of injured friendſhip, rather than the ſtern menaces of pride and power. A free and general pardon was granted to the city and citizens of Antioch; the priſon-doors were thrown open;

Clemency of Theodoſius.

(88) As the days of the tumult depend on the *moveable* feſtival of Eaſter, they can only be determined by the previous determination of the year. The year 387 has been preferred, after a laborious inquiry, by Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 741—744.) and Montfaucon (Chryſoſtom, tom. xiii. p. 105—110.).

(89) Chryſoſtom oppoſes *their* courage, which was not attended with much riſk, to the cowardly flight of the Cynics.

open; the ſenators, who deſpaired of their lives, recovered the poſſeſſion of their houſes and eſtates; and the capital of the Eaſt was reſtored to the enjoyment of her ancient dignity and ſplendor. Theodoſius condeſcended to praiſe the ſenate of Conſtantinople, who had generouſly interceded for their diſtreſſed brethren: he rewarded the eloquence of Hilarius with the government of Paleſtine; and diſmiſſed the biſhop of Antioch with the warmeſt expreſſions of his reſpect and gratitude. A thouſand new ſtatues aroſe to the clemency of Theodoſius; the applauſe of his ſubjects was ratified by the approbation of his own heart; and the emperor confeſſed, that, if the exerciſe of juſtice is the moſt important duty, the indulgence of mercy is the moſt exquiſite pleaſure, of a ſovereign (90). April 25.

Sedition and maſſacre of Theſſalonica, A. D. 390.

The ſedition of Theſſalonica is aſcribed to a more ſhameful cauſe, and was productive of much more dreadful conſequences. That great city, the metropolis of all the Illyrian provinces, had been protected from the dangers of the Gothic war by ſtrong fortifications, and a numerous garriſon. Botheric, the general of thoſe troops, and, as it ſhould ſeem from his name, a barbarian, had among his ſlaves a beautiful boy, who excited the impure deſires of one of the charioteers of the Circus. The inſolent and brutal

(90) The ſedition of Antioch is repreſented in a lively, and almoſt dramatic, manner, by two orators, who had their reſpective ſhares of intereſt and merit. See Libanius (Orat. xiv, xv. p. 389—420. edit. Morel. Orat. i. p. 1—14. Venet. 1754.), and the twenty orations of St. John Chryſoſtom, *de Statuis* (tom. ii. p. 1—225. edit. Montfaucon.). I do not pretend to *much* perſonal acquaintance with Chryſoſtom; but Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 263—283.) and Hermant (Vie de St. Chryſoſtome, tom. i. p. 137—224.) had read him with pious curioſity, and diligence.

brutal lover was thrown into priſon by the order of Botheric; and he ſternly rejected the importunate clamours of the multitude, who, on the day of the public games, lamented the abſence of their favourite; and conſidered the ſkill of a charioteer as an object of more importance than his virtue. The reſentment of the people was embittered by ſome previous diſputes; and, as the ſtrength of the garriſon had been drawn away for the ſervice of the Italian war, the feeble remnant, whoſe numbers were reduced by deſertion, could not ſave the unhappy general from their licentious fury. Botheric, and ſeveral of his principal officers, were inhumanly murdered; their mangled bodies were dragged about the ſtreets; and the emperor, who then reſided at Milan, was ſurpriſed by the intelligence of the audacious and wanton cruelty of the people of Theſſalonica. The ſentence of a diſpaſſionate judge would have inflicted a ſevere puniſhment on the authors of the crime; and the merit of Botheric might contribute to exaſperate the grief and indignation of his maſter. The fiery and choleric temper of Theodoſius was impatient of the dilatory forms of a judicial enquiry; and he haſtily reſolved, that the blood of his lieutenant ſhould be expiated by the blood of the guilty people. Yet his mind ſtill fluctuated between the counſels of clemency and of revenge; the zeal of the biſhops had almoſt extorted from the reluctant emperor the promiſe of a general pardon; his paſſion was again inflamed by the flattering ſuggeſtions of his miniſter Rufinus; and, after Theodoſius had diſpatched the meſſengers of death, he attempted, when it was too late, to prevent the execution of his orders. The puniſhment of a Roman city

ity was blindly committed to the undiſtinguiſh-
ng ſword of the barbarians; and the hoſtile pre-
arations were concerted with the dark and per-
idious artifice of an illegal conſpiracy. The
people of Theſſalonica were treacherouſly in-
vited, in the name of their ſovereign, to the
games of the Circus: and ſuch was their inſati-
ate avidity for thoſe amuſements, that every
conſideration of fear, or ſuſpicion, was diſre-
garded by the numerous ſpectators. As ſoon as
the aſſembly was complete, the ſoldiers, who
had ſecretly been poſted round the Circus, re-
ceived the ſignal, not of the races, but of a ge-
neral maſſacre. The promiſcuous carnage con-
tinued three hours, without diſcrimination of
ſtrangers or natives, of age or ſex, of innocence
or guilt; the moſt moderate accounts ſtate the
number of the ſlain at ſeven thouſand; and it is
affirmed by ſome writers, that more than fifteen
thouſand victims were ſacrificed to the manes of
Botheric. A foreign merchant, who had proba-
bly no concern in his murder, offered his own
life, and all his wealth, to ſupply the place of
one of his two ſons; but, while the father heſi-
tated with equal tenderneſs, while he was doubt-
ful to chuſe, and unwilling to condemn, the
ſoldiers determined his ſuſpenſe, by plunging
their daggers at the ſame moment into the breaſts
of the defenceleſs youths. The apology of the
aſſaſſins, that they were obliged to produce the
preſcribed number of heads, ſerves only to in-
creaſe, by an appearance of order and deſign,
the horrors of the maſſacre, which was executed
by the commands of Theodoſius. The guilt of
the emperor is aggravated by his long and fre-
quent reſidence at Theſſalonica. The ſituation
of the unfortunate city, the aſpect of the ſtreets
and

and buildings, the dreſs and faces of the inhabitants, were familiar, and even preſent, to his imagination; and Theodoſius poſſeſſed a quick and lively ſenſe of the exiſtence of the people whom he deſtroyed (91).

Influence and conduct of Ambroſe, A. D. 388.

The reſpectful attachment of the emperor for the orthodox clergy, had diſpoſed him to love and admire the character of Ambroſe; who united all the epiſcopal virtues in the moſt eminent degree. The friends and miniſters of Theodoſius imitated the example of their ſovereign; and he obſerved, with more ſurpriſe than diſpleaſure, that all his ſecret counſels were immediately communicated to the archbiſhop; who acted from the laudable perſuaſion, that every meaſure of civil government may have ſome connection with the glory of God, and the intereſt of the true religion. The monks and populace of Callinicum, an obſcure town on the frontier of Perſia, excited by their own fanaticiſm, and by that of their biſhop, had tumultuouſly burnt a conventicle of the Valentinians, and a ſynagogue of the Jews. The ſeditious prelate was condemned, by the magiſtrate of the province, either to rebuild the ſynagogue, or to repay the damage; and this moderate ſentence was confirmed by the emperor. But it was not confirmed by the archbiſhop of Milan

(91) The original evidence of Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. li. p. 998.), Auguſtin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 26.), and Paulinus (in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 24.), is delivered in vague expreſſions of horror and pity. It is illuſtrated by the ſubſequent and unequal teſtimonies of Sozomen (l. vii. c. 25.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 17.), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 62.), Cedrenus (p. 317.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 34.). Zoſimus *alone*, the partial enemy of Theodoſius, moſt unaccountably paſſes over in ſilence the worſt of his actions.

n (92). He dictated an epiſtle of cenſure and proach, more ſuitable, perhaps, if the empe- r had received the mark of circumciſion, and nounced the faith of his baptiſm. Ambroſe nſiders the toleration of the Jewiſh, as the erſecution of the Chriſtian, religion; boldly clares, that he himſelf, and every true be- ever, would eagerly diſpute with the biſhop of allinicum the merit of the deed, and the crown martyrdom; and laments, in the moſt pa- etic terms, that the execution of the ſentence ould be fatal to the fame and ſalvation of heodoſius. As this private admonition did not roduce an immediate effect, the archbiſhop om his pulpit (93), publicly addreſſed the em- eror on his throne (94); nor would he conſent offer the oblation of the altar, till he had ob- ained from Theodoſius a ſolemn and poſitive eclaration, which ſecured the impunity of the iſhop and monks of Callinicum. The recan- ation of Theodoſius was ſincere (95); and, uring the term of his reſidence at Milan, his ffection for Ambroſe was continually increaſed y the habits of pious and familiar conver- ation.

When

(92) See the whole tranſaction in Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. xl, li. p. 946—956.), and his biographer Paulinus (c. 23.). Bayle nd Barbeyrac (Morales des Pères, c. xvii. p. 325, &c.) have uſtly condemned the archbiſhop.

(93) His ſermon is a ſtrange allegory of Jeremiah's rod, of an lmond-tree, of the woman who waſhed and anointed the feet of Chriſt. But the peroration is direct and perſonal.

(94) Hodie, Epiſcope, de me propoſuiſti. Ambroſe modeſtly confeſſed it: but he ſternly reprimanded Timaſſus, general of the horſe and foot, who had preſumed to ſay, that the monks of Cal- inicum deſerved puniſhment.

(95) Yet, five years afterwards, when Theodoſius was abſent from his ſpiritual guide, he tolerated the Jews, and condemned the deſtruction of their ſynagogues. Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 9. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 225.

Penance of Theodosius, A. D. 390.

When Ambroſe was informed of the maſſacre of Theſſalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguiſh. He retired into the country to indulge his grief, and to avoid the preſence of Theodoſius. But as the archbiſhop was ſatisfied that a timid ſilence would render him the accomplice of his guilt, he repreſented, in a private letter, the enormity of the crime; which could only be effaced by the tears of penitence. The epiſcopal vigour of Ambroſe was tempered by prudence; and he contented himſelf with ſignifying (96) an indirect ſort of excommunication, by the aſſurance, that he had been warned in a viſion, not to offer the oblation in the name, or in the preſence of Theodſius; and by the advice, that he would confine himſelf to the uſe of prayer, without preſuming to approach the altar of Chriſt, or to receive the holy euchariſt with thoſe hands that were ſtill polluted with the blood of an innocent people. The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches, and by thoſe of his ſpiritual father; and, after he had bewailed the miſchievous and irreparable conſequences of his raſh fury, he proceeded, in the accuſtomed manner, to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. He was ſtopped in the porch by the archbiſhop; who, in the tone and language of an ambaſſador of Heaven, declared to his ſovereign, that private contrition was not ſufficient to atone for a public fault, or to appeaſe the juſtice of the offended Deity. Theodoſius humbly repreſented, that if he had contracted

(96) Ambroſ. tom. ii. epiſt. li. p. 997—1001. His Epiſtle is a miſerable rhapſody on a noble ſubject. Ambroſe could act better than he could write. His compoſitions are deſtitute of taſte, or genius; without the ſpirit of Tertullian, the copious elegance of Lactentius, the lively wit of Jerom, or the grave energy of Auguſtin.

tracted the guilt of homicide, David, the man after God's own heart, had been guilty, not only of murder, but of adultery. "You have imitated David in his crime, imitate then his repentance," was the reply of the undaunted Ambroſe. The rigorous conditions of peace and pardon were accepted; and the public penance of the emperor Theodoſius has been recorded as one of the moſt honourable events in the annals of the church. According to the mildeſt rules of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, which were eſtabliſhed in the fourth century, the crime of homicide was expiated by the penitence of twenty years (97); and as it was impoſſible, in the period of human life, to purge the accumulated guilt of the maſſacre of Theſſalonica, the murderer ſhould have been excluded from the holy communion till the hour of his death. But the archbiſhop, conſulting the maxims of religious policy, granted ſome indulgence to the rank of his illuſtrious penitent, who humbled in the duſt the pride of the diadem; and the public edification might be admitted as a weighty reaſon to abridge the duration of his puniſhment. It was ſufficient, that the emperor of the Romans, ſtripped of the enſigns of royalty, ſhould appear in a mournful and ſuppliant poſture; and that, in the midſt of the church of Milan, he ſhould humbly ſolicit, with ſighs and tears, the pardon of his ſins (98). In this ſpiritual cure,

(97) According to the diſcipline of St. Baſil (Canon. lvi.), the voluntary homicide was *four* years a mourner; *five* an hearer; *ſeven* in a proſtrate ſtate; and *four* in a ſtanding poſture. I have the original (Beveridge, Pandect. tom. ii. p. 47—151.), and a tranſlation (Chardon, Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. iv. p. 219—277.) of the Canonical Epiſtles of St. Baſil.

(98) The penance of Theodoſius is authenticated by Ambroſe (tom. vi. de Obit. Theodoſ. c. 34. p. 1207.), Auguſtin (de Civitat.

Ambroſe employed the various methods of mildneſs and ſeverity. After a delay of about eight months, Theodoſius was reſtored to the communion of the faithful; and the edict, which interpoſes a ſalutary interval of thirty days between the ſentence and the execution, may be accepted as the worthy fruits of his repentance (99). Poſterity has applauded the virtuous firmneſs of the archbiſhop; and the example of Theodoſius may prove the beneficial influence of thoſe principles, which could force a monarch, exalted above the apprehenſion of human puniſhment, to reſpect the laws, and miniſters, of an inviſible judge. "The prince," ſays Monteſquieu, "who is actuated by the hopes and "fears of religion, may be compared to a lion, "docile only to the voice, and tractable to the "hand, of his keeper (100). The motions of the royal animal will therefore depend on the inclination, and intereſt, of the man who has acquired ſuch dangerous authority over him; and the prieſt, who holds in his hand the conſcience of a king, may inflame, or moderate, his ſanguinary paſſions. The cauſe of humanity, and that of perſecution, have been aſſerted, by the ſame Ambroſe, with equal energy, and with equal ſucceſs.

After

Civitat. Dei, v. 26.), and Paulinus (in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 24.) Socrates is ignorant; Sozomen (l. vii. c. 25) conciſe; and the copious narrative of Theodoret (l. v. c. 18.) muſt be uſed with precaution.

(99) Codex Theodoſ. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 13. The date and circumſtances of this law are perplexed with difficulties; but I feel myſelf inclined to favour the honeſt efforts of Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 721.) and Pagi (Critica, tom. i. p. 578.).

(100) Un prince qui aime la religion, et qui la craint, eſt un lion qui céde à la main qui le flatte, ou à la voix qui l'appaiſe. Eſprit des Loix, l. xxiv. c. 2.

After the defeat and death of the tyrant of Gaul, the Roman world was in the poſſeſſion of Theodoſius. He derived from the choice of Gratian his honourable title to the provinces of the Eaſt: he had acquired the Weſt by the right of conqueſt; and the three years, which he ſpent in Italy, were uſefully employed to reſtore the authority of the laws; and to correct the abuſes, which had prevailed with impunity under the uſurpation of Maximus, and the minority of Valentinian. The name of Valentinian was regularly inſerted in the public acts; but the tender age, and doubtful faith, of the ſon of Juſtina, appeared to require the prudent care of an orthodox guardian; and his ſpecious ambition might have excluded the unfortunate youth, without a ſtruggle, and almoſt without a murmur, from the adminiſtration, and even from the inheritance, of the empire. If Theodoſius had conſulted the rigid maxims of intereſt and policy, his conduct would have been juſtified by his friends; but the generoſity of his behaviour on this memorable occaſion has extorted the applauſe of his moſt inveterate enemies. He ſeated Valentinian on the throne of Milan; and, without ſtipulating any preſent or future advantages, reſtored him to the abſolute dominion of all the provinces, from which he had been driven by the arms of Maximus. To the reſtitution of his ample patrimony, Theodoſius added the free and generous gift of the countries beyond the Alps, which his ſucceſsful valour had recovered from the aſſaſſin of Gratian (101). Satisfied with the

Generoſity of Theodoſius, A.D. 388--391.

(101) Τυτο περι τυς ευεργετας καθηκον εδοξεν ειναι, is the niggard praiſe of Zoſimus himſelf (l. iv. p. 267.). Auguſtin ſays, with more happineſs of expreſſion, Valentinianum .... miſericordiſſimâ veneratione reſtituit.

glory which he had acquired, by revenging the death of his benefactor, and delivering the Weſt from the yoke of tyranny, the emperor returned from Milan to Conſtantinople; and, in the peaceful poſſeſſion of the Eaſt, inſenſibly relapſed into his former habits of luxury and indolence. Theodoſius diſcharged his obligation to the brother, he indulged his conjugal tenderneſs to the ſiſter, of Valentinian: and poſterity, which admires the pure and ſingular glory of his elevation, muſt applaud his unrivalled generoſity in the uſe of victory.

Character of Valentinian, A.D. 391.

The empreſs Juſtina did not long ſurvive her return to Italy; and, though ſhe beheld the triumph of Theodoſius, ſhe was not allowed to influence the government of her ſon (102). The pernicious attachment to the Arian ſect, which Valentinian had imbibed from her example and inſtructions, was ſoon eraſed by the leſſons of a more orthodox education. His growing zeal for the faith of Nice, and his filial reverence for the character, and authority, of Ambroſe, diſpoſed the Catholics to entertain the moſt favourable opinion of the virtues of the young emperor of the Weſt (103). They applauded his chaſtity and temperance, his contempt of pleaſure, his application to buſineſs, and his tender affection for his two ſiſters; which could not, however, ſeduce his impartial equity to pronounce an unjuſt ſentence againſt the meaneſt of his ſubjects. But this amiable youth, before he had accompliſhed

(102) Sozomen, l. vii. c. 14. His chronology is very irregular.

(103) See Ambroſe (tom. ii. de Obit. Valentinian. c. 15, &c. p. 1178; c. 36, &c. p. 1184.). When the young emperor gave an entertainment, he faſted himſelf: he refuſed to ſee an handſome actreſs, &c. Since he ordered his wild beaſts to be killed, it is ungenerous in Philoſtorgius (l. xi. c. 1.) to reproach him with the love of that amuſement.

pliſhed the twentieth year of his age, was oppreſſed by domeſtic treaſon; and the empire was again involved in the horrors of a civil war. Arbogaſtes (104), a gallant ſoldier of the nation of Franks, held the ſecond rank in the ſervice of Gratian. On the death of his maſter, he joined the ſtandard of Theodoſius; contributed, by his valour and military conduct, to the deſtruction of the tyrant; and was appointed, after the victory, maſter-general of the armies of Gaul. His real merit, and apparent fidelity, had gained the confidence both of the prince and people; his boundleſs liberality corrupted the allegiance of the troops; and, whilſt he was univerſally eſteemed as the pillar of the ſtate, the bold and crafty Barbarian was ſecretly determined, either to rule, or to ruin, the empire of the Weſt. The important commands of the army were diſtributed among the Franks; the creatures of Arbogaſtes were promoted to all the honours and offices of the civil government; the progreſs of the conſpiracy removed every faithful ſervant from the preſence of Valentinian; and the emperor, without power, and without intelligence, inſenſibly ſunk into the precarious and dependent condition of a captive (105). The indignation which he expreſſed, though it may ariſe only from the raſh and impatient temper of youth, may be candidly aſcribed to the generous ſpirit of a prince, who felt that he was not unworthy to reign. He ſecretly invited the archbiſhop

(104) Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 275.). praiſes the enemy of Theodoſius. But he is deteſted by Socrates (l. v. c. 25.) and Oroſius (l. vii. c. 35.)

(105) Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9, p. 165. in the ſecond volume of the Hiſtorians of France) has preſerved a curious fragment of Sulpicius Alexander, an hiſtorian far more valuable than himſelf.

biſhop of Milan to undertake the office of a mediator; as the pledge of his ſincerity, and the guardian of his ſafety. He contrived to appriſe the emperor of the Eaſt of his helpleſs ſituation; and he declared, that, unleſs Theodoſius could ſpeedily march to his aſſiſtance, he muſt attempt to eſcape from the palace, or rather priſon, of Vienna in Gaul, where he had imprudently fixed his reſidence in the midſt of the hoſtile faction. But the hopes of relief were diſtant, and doubtful; and, as every day furniſhed ſome new provocation, the emperor, without ſtrength or counſel, too haſtily reſolved to riſk an immediate conteſt with his powerful general. He received Arbogaſtes on the throne; and, as the count approached with ſome appearance of reſpect, delivered to him a paper, which diſmiſſed him from all his employments. "My authority," replied Arbogaſtes with inſulting coolneſs, "does not "depend on the ſmile, or the frown, of a mo-"narch;" and he contemptuouſly threw the paper on the ground. The indignant monarch ſnatched at the ſword of one of the guards, which he ſtruggled to draw from its ſcabbard; and it was not without ſome degree of violence that he was prevented from uſing the deadly weapon againſt his enemy, or againſt himſelf. A few days after this extraordinary quarrel, in which he had expoſed his reſentment and his weakneſs, the unfortunate Valentinian was found ſtrangled in his apartment; and ſome pains were employed to diſguiſe the manifeſt guilt of Arbogaſtes, and to perſuade the world, that the death of the young emperor had been the voluntary effect of his own deſpair (106). His body was conducted with

His death, A.D. 392, May 15.

(106) Godefroy (Diſſertat. ad Philoſtorg. p. 429—434.) has diligently collected all the circumſtances of the death of Valentinian

with decent pomp to the ſepulchre of Milan; and the archbiſhop pronounced a funeral oration to commemorate his virtue, and his misfortunes (107). On this occaſion, the humanity of Ambroſe tempted him to make a ſingular breach in his theological ſyſtem; and to comfort the weeping ſiſters of Valentinian, by the firm aſſurance, that their pious brother, though he had not received the ſacrament of baptiſm, was introduced, without difficulty, into the manſions of eternal bliſs (108).

Uſurpation of Eugenius, A.D. 392--394.

The prudence of Arbogaſtes had prepared the ſucceſs of his ambitious deſigns: and the provincials, in whoſe breaſts every ſentiment of patriotiſm or loyalty was extinguiſhed, expected, with tame reſignation, the unknown maſter, whom the choice of a Frank might place on the Imperial throne. But ſome remains of pride and prejudice ſtill oppoſed the elevation of Arbogaſtes himſelf; and the judicious Barbarian thought it more adviſable to reign under the name of ſome dependent Roman. He beſtowed the purple on the rhetorician Eugenius (109); whom he had already raiſed from the place of his domeſtic ſecretary, to the rank of maſter of the

nian II. The variations, and the ignorance, of contemporary writers, prove that it was ſecret.

(107) De Obitû Valentinian. tom. ii. p. 1173—1196. He is forced to ſpeak a diſcreet and obſcure language: yet he is much bolder than any layman, or perhaps any other eccleſiaſtic, would have dared to be.

(108) See c. 51. p. 1188. c. 75. p. 1193. Dom Chardon (Hiſt. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 86.), who owns that St. Ambroſe moſt ſtrenuouſly maintains the *indiſpenſable* neceſſity of baptiſm, labours to reconcile the contradiction.

(109) Quem ſibi Germanus famulum delegerat exul,
is the contemptuous expreſſion of Claudion (iv Conſ. Hon. 74.). Eugenius profeſſed Chriſtianity: but his ſecret attachment to Paganiſm (Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22. Philoſtorg. l. xi. c. 2.) is probable in a grammarian, and would ſecure the friendſhip of Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 276, 277.).

the offices. In the courſe both of his private and public ſervice, the count had always approved the attachment and abilities of Eugenius; his learning and eloquence, ſupported by the gravity of his manners, recommended him to the eſteem of the people; and the reluctance, with which he ſeemed to aſcend the throne, may inſpire a favourable prejudicce of his virtue and moderation. The ambaſſadors of the new emperor were immediately diſpatched to the court of Theodoſius, to communicate, with affected grief, the unfortunate accident of the death of Valentinian; and, without mentioning the name of Arbogaſtes, to requeſt, that the monarch of the Eaſt would embrace, as his lawful colleague, the reſpectable citizen, who had obtained the unanimous ſuffrage of the armies and provinces of the Weſt (110). Theodoſius was juſtly provoked, that the perfidy of a barbarian ſhould have deſtroyed, in a moment, the labours, and the fruit, of his former victory; and he was excited by the tears of his beloved wife (111), to revenge the fate of her unhappy brother, and once more to aſſert by arms the violated majeſty of the throne. But as the ſecond conqueſt of the Weſt was a taſk of difficulty and danger, he diſmiſſed, with ſplendid preſents, and an ambiguous anſwer, the ambaſſadors of Eugenius; and almoſt two years were conſumed in the preparations of the civil war. Before he formed any deciſive reſolution, the pious emperor was anxious

Theodoſius prepares for war.

(110) Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 278.) mentions this embaſſy; but he is diverted by another ſtory from relating the event.

(111) Συνεταραξεν η τυτυ γαμετη Γαλλα τα βασιλεια τω αδελφον ολοφυρομενη. Zoſim. l. iv. p. 277. He afterwards ſays (p. 280.), that Galla died in childbed; and intimates, that the affliction of her huſband was extreme, but ſhort.

nxious to diſcover the will of heaven; and as he progreſs of Chriſtianity had ſilenced the ora-les of Delphi and Dodona, he conſulted an gyptian monk, who poſſeſſed, in the opinion f the age, the gift of miracles, and the know-edge of futurity. Eutropius, one of the favou-te eunuchs of the palace of Conſtantinople, mbarked for Alexandria, from whence he ſailed p the Nile as far as the city of Lycopolis, or f Wolves, in the remote province of The-ais (112). In the neighbourhood of that city, nd on the ſummit of a lofty mountain, the oly John (113) had conſtructed, with his own ands, an humble cell, in which he had dwelt bove fifty years, without opening his door, without ſeeing the face of a woman, and with-ut taſting any food that had been prepared by ire, or any human art. Five days of the week he ſpent in prayer and meditation; but on Sa-turdays and Sundays he regularly opened a ſmall window, and gave audience to the crowd of ſup-pliants, who ſucceſſively flowed from every part of the Chriſtian world. The eunuch of Theo-doſius approached the window with reſpectful ſteps, propoſed his queſtions concerning the event of the civil war, and ſoon returned with a favourable oracle, which animated the courage of

(112) Lycopolis is the modern Siut, or Oſiot, a town of Said, about the ſize of St. Denys, which drives a profitable trade with the kingdom of Sennaar; and has a very convenient fountain, "cujus potû ſigna virginitatis eripiuntur." See d'Anville, Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 181. Abulfeda, Deſcript. Ægyp. p. 14. and the curious Annotations, p. 25. 92. of his editor Michaelis.

(113) The life of John of Lycopolis is deſcribed by his two friends, Rufinus (l. ii. c. 1. p. 449.) and Palladius (Hiſt. Lauſiac. c. 43. p. 738.), in Roſweyde's great Collection of the Vitæ Patrum. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 718. 720.) has ſettled the chronology.

of the emperor by the aſſurance of a bloody, but infallible, victory (114). The accompliſhment of the prediction was forwarded by all the means that human prudence could ſupply. The induſtry of the two maſter-generals, Stilicho and Timaſius, was directed to recruit the numbers, and to revive the diſcipline, of the Roman legions. The formidable troops of Barbarians marched under the enſigns of their national chieftains. The Iberian, the Arab, and the Goth, who gazed on each other with mutual aſtoniſhment, were inliſted in the ſervice of the ſame prince; and the renowned Alaric acquired, in the ſchool of Theodoſius, the knowledge of the art of war, which he afterwards ſo fatally exerted for the deſtruction of Rome (115).

His victory over Eugenius, A. D 394, Sept. 6.

The Emperor of the Weſt, or, to ſpeak more properly, his general Arbogaſtes, was inſtructed by the miſconduct and misfortune of Maximus, how dangerous it might prove to extend the line of defence againſt a ſkilful antagoniſt, who was free to preſs, or to ſuſpend, to contract, or to multiply, his various methods of attack (116). Arbogaſtes

(114) Sozomen, l. vii. c. 22. Claudian (in Eutrop. l. i. 312.) mentions the eunuch's journey: but he moſt contemptuouſly derides the Egyptian dreams, and the oracles of the Nile.

(115) Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 280. Socrates, l. vii. 10. Alaric himſelf (de Bell. Getico, 524.) dwells with more complacency on his early exploits againſt the Romans.

. . . . Tot Auguſtus Hebro qui teſte fugavi.

Yet his vanity could ſcarcely have proved this *plurality* of flying emperors.

(116) Claudian (in iv Conſ. Honor. 77, &c.) contraſts the military plans of the two uſurpers.

. . . . Novitas audere priorem
Suadebat; cautumque dabant exempla ſequentem.
Hic nova moliri præceps: hic quærere tutus
Providus. Hic fuſis; collectis viribus ille.
Hic vagus, excurrens; hic intra clauſtra reductus
Diſſimiles; ſed morte pares. . . . .

Arbogaſtes fixed his ſtation on the confines of Italy: the troops of Theodoſius were permitted to occupy, without reſiſtance, the provinces of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; and even the paſſes of the mountains were negligently, or perhaps artfully, abandoned, to the bold invader. He deſcended from the hills, and beheld, with ſome aſtoniſhment, the formidable camp of the Gauls and Germans, that covered with arms and tents the open country, which extends to the walls of Aquileia, and the banks of the Frigidus (117), or cold river (118). This narrow theatre of the war, circumſcribed by the Alps and the Hadriatic, did not allow much room for the operations of military ſkill; the ſpirit of Arbogaſtes would have diſdained a pardon; his guilt extinguiſhed the hope of a negociation: and Theodoſius was impatient to ſatisfy his glory and revenge, by the chaſtiſement of the aſſaſſins of Valentinian. Without weighing the natural and artificial obſtacles that oppoſed his efforts, the emperor of the Eaſt immediately attacked the fortifications of his rivals, aſſigned the poſt of honourable danger to the Goths, and cheriſhed a ſecret wiſh, that the bloody conflict might diminiſh the pride and numbers of the conquerors. Ten thouſand of thoſe auxiliaries, and Bacurius, general of the Iberians, died bravely on the field of battle. But the victory was not purchaſed by their blood:

(117) The Frigidus, a ſmall, though memorable, ſtream in the country of Gortez, now called the Vipao, falls into the Sontius, or Liſonzo, above Aquileia, ſome miles from the Hadriatic. See d'Anville's Ancient and Modern Maps, and the Italia Antiqua of Cluverius (tom. i. p. 188.).

(118) Claudian's wit is intolerable: the ſnow was dyed red; the cold river ſmoaked; and the channel muſt have been choaked with carcaſſes, if the current had not been ſwelled with blood.

blood: the Gauls maintained their advantage; and the approach of night protected the disorderly flight, or retreat, of the troops of Theodosius. The emperor retired to the adjacent hills; where he passed a disconsolate night without sleep, without provisions (119); except that strong assurance, which, under the most desperate circumstances, the independent mind may derive from the contempt of fortune and of life. The triumph of Eugenius was celebrated by the insolent and dissolute joy of his camp; whilst the active and vigilant Arbogastes secretly detached a considerable body of troops to occupy the passes of the mountains, and to encompass the rear of the Eastern army. The dawn of day discovered to the eyes of Theodosius the extent and the extremity of his danger; but his apprehensions were soon dispelled, by a friendly message from the leaders of those troops, who expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the tyrant. The honourable and lucrative rewards, which they stipulated as the price of their perfidy, were granted without hesitation; and as ink and paper could not easily be procured, the emperor subscribed, on his own tablets, the ratification of the treaty. The spirit of his soldiers was revived by this seasonable reinforcement: and they again marched, with confidence, to surprise the camp of a tyrant, whose principal officers appeared to distrust, either the justice, or the success, of his arms. In the

(119) Theodoret affirms, that St. John, and St. Philip, appeared to the waking, or sleeping, emperor, on horseback, &c. This is the first instance of apostolic chivalry, which afterwards became so popular in Spain, and in the Crusades.

he heat of the battle, a violent tempeſt (120), ich as is often felt among the Alps, ſuddenly roſe from the Eaſt. The army of Theodoſius as ſheltered by their poſition from the impetuſity of the wind, which blew a cloud of duſt in he faces of the enemy, diſordered their ranks, reſted their weapons from their hands, and diverted, or repelled, their ineffectual javelins. his accidental advantage was ſkilfully improvd; the violence of the ſtorm was magnified by he ſuperſtitious terrors of the Gauls; and they ielded without ſhame to the inviſible powers of eaven, who ſeemed to militate on the ſide of he pious emperor. His victory was deciſive; nd the deaths of his two rivals were diſtinguiſhed only by the difference of their characters. The rhetorician Eugenius, who had almoſt acquired the dominion of the world, was reduced o implore the mercy of the conqueror; and the unrelenting ſoldiers ſeparated his head from his body, as he lay proſtrate at the feet of Theodoſius. Arbogaſtes, after the loſs of a battle, in which he had diſcharged the duties of a ſoldier and a general, wandered ſeveral days among the mountains. But when he was convinced, that his cauſe was deſperate, and his eſcape impracticable, the intrepid Barbarian imitated the example

(120) Te propter, gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adverſas acies; revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, et turbine reppulit haſtas.
O nimium dilecte Deo, cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes; cui militat Æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

Theſe famous lines of Claudian (in iii Conſ. Honor. 93, &c. A. D. 396.) are alleged by his contemporaries, Auguſtin and Oroſius; who ſuppreſs the Pagan deity of Æolus: and add ſome circumſtances from the information of eye-witneſſes. Within four months after the victory, it was compared by Ambroſe to the miraculous victories of Moſes and Joſhua.

ample of the ancient Romans, and turned his ſword againſt his own breaſt. The fate of the empire was determined in a narrow corner of Italy; and the legitimate ſucceſſor of the houſe of Valentinian embraced the archbiſhop of Milan, and graciouſly received the ſubmiſſion of the provinces of the Weſt. Thoſe provinces were involved in the guilt of rebellion; while the inflexible courage of Ambroſe alone had reſiſted the claims of ſucceſsful uſurpation. With a manly freedom, which might have been fatal to any other ſubject, the archbiſhop rejected the gifts of Eugenius, declined his correſpondence, and withdrew himſelf from Milan, to avoid the odious preſence of a tyrant; whoſe downfal he predicted in diſcreet and ambiguous language. The merit of Ambroſe was applauded by the conqueror, who ſecured the attachment of the people by his alliance with the church: and the clemency of Theodoſius is aſcribed to the humane interceſſion of the archbiſhop of Milan (121).

Death of Theodoſius A. D. 395, January 17.

After the defeat of Eugenius, the merit, as well as the authority, of Theodoſius was cheerfully acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the Roman world. The experience of his paſt conduct encouraged the moſt pleaſing expectations of his future reign; and the age of the emperor, which did not exceed fifty years, ſeemed to extend the proſpect of the public felicity. His death, only four months after his victory, was conſidered

(121) The events of this civil war are gathered from Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. lxii. p. 1012.), Paulinus (in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 26—34.), Auguſtin (de Civitat. Dei, v. 26.), Oroſius, (l. vii. c. 35.), Sozomen (l. vii. c. 24.) Theodoret (l. v. c. 24.), Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 281, 282.), Claudian (in iii Conſ. Hon. 63—105. in iv Conſ. Hon. 70—117.) and the Chronicles publiſhed by Scaliger.

onſidered by the people as an unforeſeen and fa-
l event, which deſtroyed, in a moment, the
opes of the riſing generation. But the indul-
ence of eaſe and luxury had ſecretly nouriſh-
d the principles of diſeaſe (122). The ſtrength
f Theodoſius was unable to ſupport the ſudden
nd violent tranſition from the palace to the
amp; and the increaſing ſymptoms of a dropſy
nnounced the ſpeedy diſſolution of the emperor.
he opinion, and perhaps the intereſt, of the
ublic had confirmed the diviſion of the Eaſtern
nd Weſtern empires; and the two royal youths,
rcadius and Honorius, who had already ob-
ained, from the tenderneſs of their father, the
itle of Auguſtus, were deſtined to fill the thrones
f Conſtantinople and of Rome. Thoſe princes
ere not permitted to ſhare the danger and glory
f the civil war (123); but as ſoon as Theodo-
ius had triumphed over his unworthy rivals, he
alled his younger ſon, Honorius, to enjoy the
ruits of the victory, and to receive the ſceptre
f the Weſt from the hands of his dying father.
The arrival of Honorius at Milan was welcomed
y a ſplendid exhibition of the games of the
Circus; and the emperor, though he was op-
preſſed by the weight of his diſorder, contributed
y his preſence to the public joy. But the re-
mains of his ſtrength were exhauſted by the pain-
ful effort, which he made, to aſſiſt at the ſpec-
tacles

(122) This diſeaſe, aſcribed by Socrates (l. v. c. 26.) to the fatigues of war, is repreſented by Philoſtorgius (l. xi. c. 2.) as the effect of ſloth and intemperance; for which Photius calls him an impudent liar (Godefroy, Differt. p. 438.).

(123) Zoſimus ſuppoſes, that the boy Honorius accompanied his father (l. iv. p. 280.). Yet the, quanto flagrabant pectora voto, is all that flattery would allow to a contemporary poet; who clearly deſcribes the emperor's refuſal, and the journey of Honorius, *after* the victory (Caudian in iii Conſ. 78—125.).

tacles of the morning. Honorius ſupplied, during the reſt of the day, the place of his father; and the great Theodoſius expired in the enſuing night. Notwithſtanding the recent animoſities of a civil war, his death was univerſally lamented. The Barbarians, whom he had vanquiſhed, and the churchmen, by whom he had been ſubdued, celebrated, with loud and ſincere applauſe, the qualities of the deceaſed emperor, which appeared the moſt valuable in their eyes. The Romans were terrified by the impending dangers of a freeble and divided adminiſtration; and every diſgraceful moment of the unfortunate reigns of Arcadius and Honorius revived the memory of their irreparable loſs.

In the faithful picture of the virtues of Theodoſius, his imperfections have not been diſſembled; the act of cruelty, and the habits of indolence, which tarniſhed the glory of one of the greateſt of the Roman princes. An hiſtorian, perpetually adverſe to the fame of Theodoſius, has exaggerated his vices, and their pernicious effects; he boldly aſſerts, that every rank of ſubjects imitated the effeminate manners of their ſovereign; that every ſpecies of corruption polluted the courſe of public and private life; and that the feeble reſtraints of order and decency were inſufficient to reſiſt the progreſs of that degenerate ſpirit, which ſacrifices, without a bluſh, the conſideration of duty and intereſt to the baſe indulgence of ſloth and appetite (124). The complaints of contemporary writers, who deplore the increaſe of luxury, and depravation of manners, are commonly expreſſive of their peculiar temper and ſituation. There are few obſervers, who poſſeſs a clear and comprehenſive view of the revolutions of ſociety; and

(125) Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 244.

nd who are capable of diſcovering the nice and ecret ſprings of action, which impel, in the me uniform direction, the blind and capricious aſſions of a multitude of individuals. If it can e affirmed, with any degree of truth, that the xury of the Romans was more ſhameleſs and iſſolute in the reign of Theodoſius than in the ge of Conſtantine, perhaps, or of Auguſtus, he alteration cannot be aſcribed to any benefi- ial improvements, which had gradually in- reaſed the ſtock of national riches. A long eriod of calamity or decay muſt have checked he induſtry, and diminiſhed the wealth, of the eople; and their profuſe luxury muſt have een the reſult of that indolent deſpair, which njoys the preſent hour, and declines the thoughts f futurity. The uncertain condition of their roperty diſcouraged the ſubjects of Theodoſius rom engaging in thoſe uſeful and laborious un- ertakings, which require an immediate ex- ence, and promiſe a ſlow and diſtant advan- ge. The frequent examples of ruin and deſo- tion tempted them not to ſpare the remains of patrimony, which might, every hour, become he prey of the rapacious Goth. And the mad rodigality which prevails in the confuſion of a hipwreck, or a ſiege, may ſerve to explain the progreſs of luxury amidſt the misfortunes and errors of a ſinking nation.

The effeminate luxury, which infected the manners of courts and cities, had inſtilled a ſe- cret and deſtructive poiſon into the camps of the legions: and their degeneracy has been mark- d by the pen of a military writer, who had ccurately ſtudied the genuine and ancient prin- iples of Roman diſcipline. It is the juſt and mportant obſervation of Vegetius, that the in-

The infantry lay aſide their armour.

fantry was invariably covered with defenſive armour, from the foundation of the city, to the reign of the emperor Gratian. The relaxation of diſcipline, and the diſuſe of exerciſe, rendered the ſoldiers leſs able, and leſs willing, to ſupport the fatigues of the ſervice; they complained of the weight of the armour, which they ſeldom wore; and they ſucceſſively obtained the permiſſion of laying aſide both their cuiraſſes and their helmets. The heavy weapons of their anceſtors, the ſhort ſword, and the formidable *pilum*, which had ſubdued the world, inſenſibly dropped from their feeble hands. As the uſe of the ſhield is incompatible with that of the bow, they reluctantly marched into the field; condemned to ſuffer, either the pain of wounds, or the ignominy of flight, and always diſpoſed to prefer the moſt ſhameful alternative. The cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani, had felt the benefits, and adopted the uſe, of defenſive armour; and, as they excelled in the management of miſſile weapons, they eaſily overwhelmed the naked and trembling legions, whoſe heads and breaſts were expoſed, without defence, to the arrows of the Barbarians. The loſs of armies, the deſtruction of cities, and the diſhonour of the Roman name, ineffectually ſolicited the ſucceſſors of Gratian to reſtore the helmets and cuiraſſes of the infantry. The enervated ſoldiers abandoned their own, and the public, defence; and their puſillanimous indolence may be conſidered as the immediate cauſe of the downfal of the empire (125).

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(125) Vegetius, de Re Militari, l. i. c. 10. The ſeries of calamities, which he marks, compel us to believe, that the *hero*, to whom he dedicates his book, is the laſt and moſt inglorious of the Valentinians.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Final Deſtruction of Paganiſm.—Introduction of the Worſhip of Saints, and Relics, among the Chriſtians.

THE ruin of Paganiſm, in the age of Theodoſius, is perhaps the only example of the total extirpation of any ancient and popular ſuperſtition; and may therefore deſerve to be conſidered, as a ſingular event in the hiſtory of the human mind. The Chriſtians, more eſpecially the clergy, had impatiently ſupported the prudent delays of Conſtantine, and the equal toleration of the elder Valentinian; nor could they deem their conqueſt perfect or ſecure, as long as their adverſaries were permitted to exiſt. The influence, which Ambroſe and his brethren had acquired over the youth of Gratian, and the piety of Theodoſius, was employed to infuſe the maxims of perſecution into the breaſts of their imperial proſelytes. Two ſpecious principles of religious juriſprudence were eſtabliſhed, from whence they deduced a direct and rigorous concluſion, againſt the ſubjects of the empire, who ſtill adhered to the ceremonies of their anceſtors: *that*, the magiſtrate is, in ſome meaſure, guilty of the crimes which he neglects to prohibit, or to puniſh; and, *that* the idolatrous worſhip of fabulous deities, and real dæmons, is the moſt abominable crime againſt the ſupreme majeſty of the Creator. The laws of Moſes, and the examples of Jewiſh hiſtory (1), were haſtily, perhaps

The deſtruction of the Pagan religion, A. D. 378—395.

(1) St. Ambroſe (tom. ii. de Obit. Theodoſ. p. 1208.) expreſsly praiſes and recommends the zeal of Joſiah in the deſtruction

perhaps erroneouſly, applied, by the clergy, to the mild and univerſal reign of Chriſtianity (2). The zeal of the emperors was excited to vindicate their own honour, and that of the Deity: and the temples of the Roman world were ſubverted, about ſixty years after the converſion of Conſtantine.

State of Paganiſm at Rome.

From the age of Numa, to the reign of Gratian, the Romans preſerved the regular ſucceſſion of the ſeveral colleges of the ſacerdotal order (3). Fifteen PONTIFFS exerciſed their ſupreme juriſdiction over all things, and perſons, that were conſecrated to the ſervice of the gods; and the various queſtions which perpetually aroſe in a looſe and traditionary ſyſtem, were ſubmitted to the judgment of their holy tribunal. Fifteen grave and learned AUGURS obſerved the face of the heavens, and preſcribed the actions of heroes, according the flight of birds. Fifteen keepers of the Sybilline books (their name of QUINDECEMVIRS was derived from their number) occaſionally conſulted the hiſtory of future, and, as it ſhould ſeem, of contingent, events. Six VESTALS devoted their virginity to the guard of the ſacred fire, and of the unknown pledges of the duration of Rome; which no mortal had been ſuffered to behold with impunity.

tion of idolatry. The language of Julius Firmicus Maternus on the ſame ſubject (de Errore Profan. Relig. p. 467, edit. Gronov.) is piouſly inhuman. Nec filio jubet (the Moſaic Law) parci, nec fratri, et per amatam conjugem gladium vindicem ducit, &c.

(2) Bayle (tom. ii. p. 406, in his Commentaire Philoſophique) juſtifies, and limits, theſe intolerant laws by the temporal reign of Jehovah over the Jews. The attempt is laudable.

(3) See the outlines of the Roman hierarchy in Cicero (de Legibus, ii. 7, 8.), Livy (i. 20.), Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis (l. ii. p. 119—129. edit. Hudſon), Beaufort (Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 1—90.), and Moyle (vol. i. p. 10—55.). The laſt is the work of an Engliſh Whig, as well as of a Roman antiquary.

y (4). Seven EPULOS prepared the table of he gods, conducted the ſolemn proceſſion, and egulated the ceremonies of the annual feſtival. The three FLAMENS of Jupiter, of Mars, and f Quirinus, were conſidered as the peculiar iniſters of the three moſt powerful deities, who watched over the fate of Rome and of the niverſe. The KING of the SACRIFICES reſented the perſon of Numa, and of his ſucceſſors, in the religious functions, which could e performed only by royal hands. The conraternities of the SALIANS, the LUPERCALS, xc. practiſed ſuch rites, as might extort a ſmile f contempt from every reaſonable man, with a ively confidence of recommending themſelves o the favour of the immortal gods. The authority, which the Roman prieſts had formerly btained in the counſels of the republic, was gradually aboliſhed by the eſtabliſhment of monarchy, and the removal of the ſeat of empire. But the dignity of their ſacred character was ſtill protected by the laws and manners of their country; and they ſtill continued, more eſpecially the college of pontiffs, to exerciſe in the capital, and ſometimes in the provinces, the rights of their eccleſiaſtical and civil juriſdiction.

Their robes of purple, chariots of ſtate, and ſumptuous entertainments, attracted the admiration of the people; and they received, from the conſecrated lands, and the public revenue, an

(4) Theſe myſtic, and perhaps imaginary, ſymbols have given birth to various fables and conjectures. It ſeems probable, that the Palladium was a ſmall ſtatue (three cubits and a half high) of Minerva, with a lance and diſtaff; that it was uſually incloſed in a *ſeria*, or barrel; and that a ſimilar barrel was placed by its ſide, to diſconcert curioſity, or ſacrilege. See Mezeriac (Comment. ſur les Epitres d'Ovide, tom. i. p. 60.—66.), and Lipſius (tom. iii. p. 610. de Veſtâ, &c. c. 10.).

an ample ſtipend, which liberally ſupported the ſplendour of the prieſthood, and all the expences of the religious worſhip of the ſtate. As the ſervice of the altar was not incompatible with the command of armies, the Romans, after their conſulſhips and triumphs, aſpired to the place of pontiff, or of augur; the ſeats of Cicero (5) and Pompey were filled, in the fourth century, by the moſt illuſtrious members of the ſenate; and the dignity of their birth reflected additional ſplendour on their ſacerdotal character. The fifteen prieſts, who compoſed the college of pontiffs, enjoyed a more diſtinguiſhed rank as the companions of their ſovereign; and the Chriſtian emperors condeſcended to accept the robe and enſigns, which were appropriated to the office of ſupreme pontiff. But when Gratian aſcended the throne, more ſcrupulous, or more enlightened, he ſternly rejected thoſe prophane ſymbols (6); applied to the ſervice of the ſtate, or of the church, the revenues of the prieſts and veſtals; aboliſhed their honours and immunities; and diſſolved the ancient fabric of Roman ſuperſtition, which was ſupported by the opinions, and habits, of eleven hundred years. Paganiſm was ſtill the conſtitutional religion of the ſenate. The hall, or temple, in which they aſſembled, was adorned by the ſtatue and altar of victory (7); a majeſtic female ſtanding on a globe,

(5) Cicero, frankly (ad Atticum, l. ii. epiſt. 5.), or indirectly (ad Familiar. l. xv. epiſt. 4.), confeſſes, that the *Augurate* is the ſupreme object of his wiſhes. Pliny is proud to tread in the footſteps of Cicero (l. iv. epiſt. 8.), and the chain of tradition might be continued from hiſtory, and marbles.

(6) Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 249, 250. I have ſuppreſſed the fooliſh pun about *Pontifex* and *Maximus*.

(7) This ſtatue was tranſported from Tarentum to Rome, placed in the *Curia Julia* by Cæſar, and decorated by Auguſtus with the ſpoils of Egypt.

globe, with flowing garments, expanded wings, and a crown of laurel in her out-ſtretched hand (8). The ſenators were ſworn on the altar of the goddeſs, to obſerve the laws of the emperor and of the empire; and a ſolemn offering of wine and incenſe was the ordinary prelude of their public deliberations (9). The removal of this ancient monument was the only injury which Conſtantius had offered to the ſuperſtition of the Romans. The altar of Victory was again reſtored by Julian, tolerated by Valentinian, and once more baniſhed from the ſenate by the zeal of Gratian (10). But the emperor yet ſpared the ſtatues of the gods which were expoſed to the public veneration: four hundred and twenty-four temples, or chapels, ſtill remained to ſatisfy the devotion of the people; and in every quarter of Rome, the delicacy of the Chriſtians was offended by the fumes of idolatrous ſacrifice (11).

Petition of the ſenate for the altar of Victory, A. D. 384.

But the Chriſtians formed the leaſt numerous party in the ſenate of Rome (12); and it was only by their abſence, that they could expreſs their diſſent from the legal, though profane, acts of a Pagan majority. In that aſſembly, the dying

(8) Prudentius (l. ii. in initio) has drawn a very awkward portrait of Victory: but the curious reader will obtain more ſatisfaction from Montfaucon's Antiquities (tom. i. p. 341.).

(9) See Suetonius (in Auguſt. c. 35.), and the Exordium of Pliny's Panegyric.

(10) Theſe facts are mutually allowed by the two advocates, Symmachus and Ambroſe.

(11) The *Notitia Urbis*, more recent than Conſtantine, does not find one Chriſtian church worthy to be named among the edifices of the city. Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. xvii. p. 825.) deplores the public ſcandals of Rome, which continually offended the eyes, the ears, and the noſtrils of the faithful.

(12) Ambroſe repeatedly affirms, in contradiction to common ſenſe (Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 147.), that the Chriſtians had a majority in the ſenate.

ing embers of freedom were, for a moment, revived and inflamed by the breath of fanaticiſm. Four reſpectable deputations were ſucceſſively voted to the Imperial court (13), to repreſent the grievances of the prieſthood and the ſenate; and to ſolicit the reſtoration of the altar of Victory. The conduct of this important buſineſs was entruſted to the eloquent Symmachus (14), a wealthy and noble ſenator, who united the ſacred characters of pontiff and augur, with the civil dignities of proconſul of Africa, and præfect of the city. The breaſt of Symmachus was animated by the warmeſt zeal for the cauſe of expiring Paganiſm; and his religious antagoniſts lamented the abuſe of his genius, and the inefficacy of his moral virtues (15). The orator, whoſe petition is extant to the emperor Valentinian, was conſcious of the difficulty and danger of the office which he had aſſumed. He cautiouſly avoids every topic which might appear to reflect on the religion of his ſovereign; humbly declares, that prayers and entreaties are his only arms; and artfully draws his arguments from the ſchools of rhetoric, rather than from thoſe of philoſophy. Symmachus endeavours to ſeduce the imagination of a young prince, by diſplaying

(13) The *firſt* (A. D. 382.) to Gratian, who refuſed them audience. The *ſecond* (A. D. 384.) to Valentinian, when the field was diſputed by Symmachus and Ambroſe. The *third* (A. D. 388.) to Theodoſius; and the *fourth* (A. D. 392.) to Valentinian. Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 372—399.) fairly repreſents the whole tranſaction.

(14) Symmachus, who was inveſted with all the civil and ſacerdotal honours, repreſented the emperor under the two characters of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Princeps Senatûs*. See the proud inſcription at the head of his works.

(15) As if any one, ſays Prudentius (in Symmach. i. 639.), ſhould dig in the mud with an inſtrument of gold and ivory. Even ſaints, and polemic ſaints, treat this adverſary with reſpect and civility.

playing the attributes of the goddeſs of victory; he inſinuates, that the confiſcation of the revenues, which were conſecrated to the ſervice of the gods, was a meaſure unworthy of his liberal and diſintereſted character; and he maintains, that the Roman ſacrifices would be deprived of their force and energy, if they were no longer celebrated at the expence, as well as in the name, of the republic. Even ſcepticiſm is made to ſupply an apology for ſuperſtition. The great and incomprehenſible *ſecret* of the univerſe eludes the enquiry of man. Where reaſon cannot inſtruct, cuſtom may be permitted to guide; and every nation ſeems to conſult the dictates of prudence, by a faithful attachment to thoſe rites, and opinions, which have received the ſanction of ages. If thoſe ages have been crowned with glory and proſperity, if the devout people has frequently obtained the bleſſings which they have ſolicited at the altars of the gods, it muſt appear ſtill more adviſable to perſiſt in the ſame ſalutary practice; and not to riſk the unknown perils that may attend any raſh innovations. The teſt of antiquity and ſucceſs was applied with ſingular advantage to the religion of Numa; and ROME herſelf, the celeſtial genius that preſided over the fates of the city, is introduced by the orator to plead her own cauſe before the tribunal of the emperors. "Moſt excellent "princes," ſays the venerable matron, "fa- "thers of your country! pity and reſpect my "age, which has hitherto flowed in an uninter- "rupted courſe of piety. Since I do not re- "pent, permit me to continue in the practice of "my ancient rites. Since I am born free, al- "low me to enjoy my domeſtic inſtitutions. "This religion has reduced the world under

"my

" my laws. Theſe rites have repelled Hanni-
" bal from the city, and the Gauls from the
" capitol. Were my gray hairs reſerved for
" ſuch intolerable diſgrace? I am ignorant of
" the new ſyſtem, that I am required to adopt;
" but I am well aſſured, that the correction of
" old age is always an ungrateful and ignomi-
" nious office (16)." The fears of the people ſupplied what the diſcretion of the orator had ſuppreſſed; and the calamities, which afflicted, or threatened, the declining empire, were unanimouſly imputed, by the Pagans, to the new religion of Chriſt and of Conſtantine.

Converſion of Rome, A. D. 388, &c.

But the hopes of Symmachus were repeatedly baffled by the firm and dextrous oppoſition of the archbiſhop of Milan; who fortified the emperors againſt the fallacious eloquence of the advocate of Rome. In this controverſy, Ambroſe condeſcends to ſpeak the language of a philoſopher, and to aſk, with ſome contempt, why it ſhould be thought neceſſary to introduce an imaginary and inviſible power, as the cauſe of thoſe victories, which were ſufficiently explained by the valour and diſcipline of the legions. He juſtly derides the abſurd reverence for antiquity, which could only tend to diſcourage the improvements of art, and to replunge the human race into their original barbariſm. From thence gradually riſing to a more lofty and theological tone, he pronounces, that Chriſtianity alone is the doctrine of truth and ſalvation; and

(16) See the fifty-fourth epiſtle of the tenth book of Symmachus. In the form and diſpoſition of his ten books of epiſtles, he imitated the younger Pliny; whoſe rich and florid ſtyle he was ſuppoſed, by his friends, to equal or excel (Macrob. Saturnal. l. v. c. 1.). But the luxuriancy of Symmachus conſiſts of barren leaves, without fruits, and even without flowers. Few facts, and few ſentiments, can be extracted from his verboſe correſpondence.

and that every mode of Polytheiſm conducts its deluded votaries, through the paths of error, to the abyſs of eternal perdition (17). Arguments like theſe, when they were ſuggeſted by a favourite biſhop, had power to prevent the reſtoration of the altar of Victory; but the ſame arguments fell, with much more energy and effect, from the mouth of a conqueror; and the gods of antiquity were dragged in triumph at the chariot wheels of Theodoſius (18). In a full meeting of the ſenate, the emperor propoſed, according to the forms of the republic, the important queſtion, Whether the worſhip of Jupiter, or that of Chriſt, ſhould be the religion of the Romans. The liberty of ſuffrages, which he affected to allow, was deſtroyed by the hopes and fears, that his preſence inſpired; and the arbitrary exile of Symmachus was a recent admonition, that it might be dangerous to oppoſe the wiſhes of the monarch. On a regular diviſion of the ſenate, Jupiter was condemned and degraded by the ſenſe of a very large majority; and it is rather ſurpriſing, that any members ſhould be found bold enough to declare, by their ſpeeches and votes, that they were ſtill attached to

(17) See Ambroſe (tom. ii. epiſt. xvii, xviii. p. 825—833.). The former of theſe epiſtles is a ſhort caution; the latter is a formal reply to the petition or *libel* of Symmachus. The ſame ideas are more copiouſly expreſſed in the poetry, if it may deſerve that name, of Prudentius; who compoſed his two books againſt Symmachus (A. D. 404.) while that ſenator was ſtill alive. It is whimſical enough, that Monteſquieu (Conſiderations, &c. c. xix. tom. iii. p. 487.) ſhould overlook the two profeſſed antagoniſts of Symmachus; and amuſe himſelf with deſcanting on the more remote and indirect confutations of Oroſius, St. Auguſtin, and Salvian.

(18) See Prudentius (in Symmach. l. i. 545, &c.). The Chriſtian agrees with the Pagan Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 283.), in placing this viſit of Theodoſius after the *ſecond* civil war, gemini bis victor cæde Tyranni (l. i. 410.). But the time and circumſtances are better ſuited to his firſt triumph.

to the intereſt of an abdicated deity (19). The haſty converſion of the ſenate muſt be attributed either to ſupernatural or to ſordid motives; and many of theſe reluctant proſelytes betrayed, on every favourable occaſion, their ſecret diſpoſition to throw aſide the maſk of odious diſſimulation. But they were gradually fixed in the new religion, as the cauſe of the ancient became more hopeleſs; they yielded to the authority of the emperor, to the faſhion of the times, and to the entreaties of their wives and children (20), who were inſtigated and governed by the clergy of Rome and the monks of the Eaſt. The edifying example of the Anician family was ſoon imitated by the reſt of the nobility: the Baſſi, the Paullini, the Gracchi, embraced the Chriſtian religion; and "the luminaries of the world, the "venerable aſſembly of Catos (ſuch are the "high-flown expreſſions of Prudentius), were "impatient to ſtrip themſelves of their ponti-"fical garment; to caſt the ſkin of the old ſer-"pent; to aſſume the ſnowy robes of baptiſmal "innocence; and to humble the pride of the "conſular faſces before the tombs of the mar-"tyrs (21)." The citizens, who ſubſiſted by their

(19) Prudentius, after proving that the ſenſe of the ſenate is declared by a legal majority, proceeds to ſay (609, &c.),

Adſpice quam pleno ſubſellia noſtra Senatû
Decernant infame Jovis pulvinar, et omne
Idolium longe purgatâ ab urbe fugandum.
Qua vocat egregii ſententia Principis, illuc
Libera, cum pedibus, tum corde, frequentia tranſit.

Zoſimus aſcribes to the conſcript fathers an heatheniſh courage, which few of them are found to poſſeſs.

(20) Jerom ſpecifies the pontiff Albinus, who was ſurrounded with ſuch a believing family of children, and grand-children, as would have been ſufficient to convert even Jupiter himſelf; an extraordinary proſelyte! (tom. i. ad Lætam, p. 54.)

(21) Exſultare Patres videas, pulcherrima mundi
Lumina; conciliumque ſenûm geſtire Catonum
Candidion

their own induſtry, and the populace, who were ſupported by the public liberality, filled the churches of the Lateran, and Vatican, with an inceſſant throng of devout proſelytes. The decrees of the ſenate, which proſcribed the worſhip of idols, were ratified by the general conſent of the Romans (22); the ſplendour of the capitol was defaced, and the ſolitary temples were abandoned to ruin and contempt (23). Rome ſubmitted to the yoke of the Goſpel; and the vanquiſhed provinces had not yet loſt their reverence for the name and authority of Rome.

Deſtruction of the temples in the provinces. A. D. 381, &c.

The filial piety of the emperors themſelves engaged them to proceed, with ſome caution and tenderneſs, in the reformation of the eternal city. Thoſe abſolute monarchs acted with leſs regard to the prejudices of the provincials. The pious labour which had been ſuſpended near twenty years ſince the death of Conſtantius (24), was vigorouſly reſumed, and finally accompliſhed, by the zeal of Theodoſius. Whilſt that warlike prince yet ſtruggled with the Goths, not for the glory, but for the ſafety, of the republic: he ventured to offend a conſiderable party

Candidiore togâ niveum pietatis amictum
Sumere; et exuvias deponere pontificales.

The fancy of Prudentius is warmed and elevated by victory.

(22) Prudentius, after he has deſcribed the converſion of the ſenate and people, aſks, with ſome truth and confidence,

Et dubitamus adhuc Romam, tibi, Chriſte, dicatam
In leges transiſſe tuas?

(23) Jerom exults in the deſolation of the capitol, and the other temples of Rome (tom. i. p. 54. tom. ii. p. 95.).

(24) Libanius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 10. Genev. 1634, publiſhed by James Godefroy, and now extremely ſcarce) accuſes Valentinian and Valens of prohibiting ſacrifices. Some partial order may have been iſſued by the Eaſtern emperor; but the idea of any general law is contradicted by the ſilence of the Code, and the evidence of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.

party of his ſubjects, by ſome acts which might perhaps ſecure the protection of Heaven, but which muſt ſeem raſh and unſeaſonable in the eye of human prudence. The ſucceſs of his firſt experiments againſt the Pagans, encouraged the pious emperor to reiterate and enforce his edicts of proſcription: the ſame laws which had been originally publiſhed in the provinces of the Eaſt, were applied, after the defeat of Maximus, to the whole extent of the Weſtern empire; and every victory of the orthodox Theodoſius contributed to the triumph of the Chriſtian and Catholic faith (25). He attacked ſuperſtition in her moſt vital part, by prohibiting the uſe of ſacrifices, which he declared to be criminal, as well as infamous; and if the terms of his edicts more ſtrictly condemned the impious curioſity which examined the entrails of the victims (26), every ſubſequent explanation tended to involve, in the ſame guilt, the general practice of *immolation*, which eſſentially conſtituted the religion of the Pagans. As the temples had been erected for the purpoſe of ſacrifice, it was the duty of a benevolent prince to remove from his ſubjects the dangerous temptation, of offending againſt the laws which he had enacted. A ſpecial commiſſion was granted to Cynegius, the Prætorian præfect of the Eaſt, and afterwards to the counts Jovius and Gaudentius, two officers of diſtinguiſhed rank in the Weſt; by which they were directed to ſhut the temples, to

(25) See his laws in the Theodoſian Code, l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 7—11.

(26) Homer's ſacrifices are not accompanied with any inquiſition of entrails (ſee Feithius, Antiquitat. Homer. l. i. c. 10. 16.). The Tuſcans, who produced the firſt *Haruſpices*, ſubdued both the Greeks and the Romans (Cicero de Divinatione, ii. 23.).

to ſeize or deſtroy the inſtruments of idolatry, to aboliſh the privileges of the prieſts, and to confiſcate the conſecrated property for the benefit of the emperor, of the church, or of the army (27). Here the deſolation might have ſtopped: and the naked edifices, which were no longer employed in the ſervice of idolatry, might have been protected from the deſtructive rage of fanaticiſm. Many of thoſe temples were the moſt ſplendid and beautiful monuments of Grecian architecture; and the emperor himſelf was intereſted not to deface the ſplendour of his own cities, or to diminiſh the value of his own poſſeſſions. Thoſe ſtately edifices might be ſuffered to remain, as ſo many laſting trophies of the victory of Chriſt. In the decline of the arts, they might be uſefully converted into magazines, manufactures, or places of public aſſembly: and perhaps, when the walls of the temple had been ſufficiently purified by holy rites, the worſhip of the true Deity might be allowed to expiate the ancient guilt of idolatry. But as long as they ſubſiſted, the Pagans fondly cheriſhed the ſecret hope, that an auſpicious revolution, a ſecond Julian, might again reſtore the altars of the gods; and the earneſtneſs with which they addreſſed their unavailing prayers to the throne (28), increaſed the zeal of the Chriſtian reformers to extirpate, without mercy, the root of ſuperſtition. The laws of the emperors exhibit ſome ſymptoms

(27) Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 245. 249. Theodoret, l. v. c. 21. Idatius in Chron. Proſper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 389. No. 52. Libanius (pro Templis, p. 10.) labours to prove, that the commands of Theodoſius were not direct and poſitive.

(28) Cod. Theodoſ. lxvi. tit. x. leg. 8. 18. There is room to believe, that this temple of Edeſſa, which Theodoſius wiſhed to ſave for civil uſes, was ſoon aftewards a heap of ruins (Libanius pro templis, p. 26, 27. and Godefroy's notes, p. 59.).

ſymptoms of a milder diſpoſition (29); but their cold and languid efforts were inſufficient to ſtem the torrent of enthuſiaſm and rapine, which was conducted, or rather impelled, by the ſpiritual rulers of the church. In Gaul, the holy Martin, biſhop of Tours (30), marched at the head of his faithful monks to deſtroy the idols, the temples, and the conſecrated trees of his extenſive dioceſe; and, in the execution of this arduous taſk, the prudent reader will judge whether Martin was ſupported by the aid of miraculous powers, or of carnal weapons. In Syria, the divine and excellent Marcellus (31), as he is ſtiled by Theodoret, a biſhop animated with apoſtolic fervour, reſolved to level with the ground the ſtately temples within the dioceſe of Apamea. His attack was reſiſted, by the ſkill and ſolidity, with which the temple of Jupiter had been conſtructed. The building was ſeated on an eminence: on each of the four ſides, the lofty roof was ſupported by fifteen maſſy columns, ſixteen feet in circumference; and the large ſtones of which they were compoſed, were firmly cemented with lead and iron. The force of the ſtrongeſt and ſharpeſt tools had been tried without effect. It was found neceſſary to undermine the foundations of the columns, which fell down as ſoon as the temporary

(29) See this curious oration of Libanius pro Templis, pronounced, or rather compoſed, about the year 390. I have conſulted, with advantage, Dr. Lardner's verſion and remarks (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 135—163.).

(30) See the life of Martin, by Sulpicius Severus, c. 9—14. The ſaint once miſtook (as Don Quixote might have done) an harmleſs funeral for an idolatrous proceſſion, and imprudently committed a miracle.

(31) Compare Sozomen (l. vii. c. 15.) with Theodoret (l. v. c. 21.). Between them, they relate the cruſade and death of Marcellus.

rary wooden props had been conſumed with fire; and the difficulties of the enterpriſe are deſcribed under the allegory of a black dæmon, who retarded, though he could not defeat, the operations of the Chriſtian engineers. Elated with victory, Marcellus took the field in perſon againſt the powers of darkneſs; a numerous troop of ſoldiers and gladiators marched under the epiſcopal banner, and he ſucceſſively attacked the villages and country temples of the dioceſe of Apamea. Whenever any reſiſtance or danger was apprehended, the champion of the faith, whoſe lameneſs would not allow him either to fight or fly, placed himſelf at a convenient diſtance, beyond the reach of darts. But this prudence was the occaſion of his death: he was ſurpriſed and ſlain by a body of exaſperated ruſtics; and the ſynod of the province pronounced, without heſitation, that the holy Marcellus had ſacrificed his life in the cauſe of God. In the ſupport of this cauſe, the monks, who ruſhed, with tumultuous fury, from the deſert, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal and diligence. They deſerved the enmity of the Pagans; and ſome of them might deſerve the reproaches of avarice and intemperance; of avarice, which they gratified with holy plunder, and of intemperance, which they indulged at the expence of the people, who fooliſhly admired their tattered garments, loud pſalmody, and artificial paleneſs (32). A ſmall number of temples was protected by the fears, the venality, the taſte, or the prudence, of the civil and eccleſiaſtical governors. The

(32) Libanius pro Templis, p. 10—13. He rails at theſe black-garbed men, the Chriſtian Monks, who eat more than elephants. Poor elephants! *they* are temperate animals.

temple of the celeſtial Venus at Carthage, whoſe ſacred precincts formed a circumference of two miles, was judiciouſly converted into a Chriſtian church (33); and a ſimilar conſecration has preſerved inviolate the majeſtic dome of the Pantheon at Rome (34). But in almoſt every province of the Roman world, an army of fanatics, without authority, and without diſcipline, invaded the peaceful inhabitants; and the ruin of the faireſt ſtructures of antiquity ſtill diſplays the ravages of *thoſe* Barbarians, who alone had time and inclination to execute ſuch laborious deſtruction.

The temple of Serapis at Alexandria.

In this wide and various proſpect of devaſtation, the ſpectator may diſtinguiſh the ruins of the temple of Serapis, at Alexandria (35). Serapis does not appear to have been one of the native gods, or monſters, who ſprung from the fruitful ſoil of ſuperſtitious Egypt (36). The firſt of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the myſterious ſtranger from the coaſt of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were ſo imperfectly underſtood, that it became

(33) Proſper. Aquitan. l. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium; Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 389. No. 58, &c. The temple had been ſhut ſome time, and the acceſs to it was overgrown with brambles.

(34) Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, l. iv. c. 4. p. 468. This conſecration was performed by pope Boniface IV. I am ignorant of the favourable circumſtances which had preſerved the Pantheon above two hundred years after the reign of Theodoſius.

(35) Sophronius compoſed a recent and ſeparate hiſtory (Jerom. in Script. Eccleſ. tom. i. p. 303.), which has furniſhed materials to Socrates (l. v. c. 16.), Theodoret (l. v. c. 22.), and Rufinus (l. ii. c. 22. Yet the laſt, who had been at Alexandria, before, and after, the event, may deſerve the credit of an original witneſs.

(36) Gerard Voſſius (Opera, tom. v. p. 80. & de Idololatria, l. i. c. 29.) ſtrives to ſupport the ſtrange notion of the Fathers; that the patriarch Joſeph was adored in Egypt, as the bull Apis, and the god Serapis.

came a ſubject of diſpute, whether he repreſented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the ſubterraneous regions (37). The Egyptians, who were obſtinately devoted to the religion of their fathers, refuſed to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities (38). But the obſequious prieſts, who were ſeduced by the liberality of the Ptolemies, ſubmitted, without reſiſtance, to the power of the god of Pontus; an honourable and domeſtic genealogy was provided; and this fortunate uſurper was introduced into the throne and bed of Oſiris (39), the huſband of Iſis, and the celeſtial monarch of Egypt. Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple (40), which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the capitol, was erected on the ſpacious ſummit of an artificial mount, raiſed one hundred ſteps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was ſtrongly ſupported by arches, and diſtributed into vaults and ſubterraneous apartments. The conſecrated buildings were ſurrounded by a quadrangular portico; the

(37) Origo dei nondum noſtris celebrata. Ægyptiorum antiſtites *ſic* memorant, &c. Tacit. Hiſt. iv. 83. The Greeks, who had travelled into Egypt, were alike ignorant of this new deity.

(38) Macrobius, Saturnal. l. 1. c. 7. Such a living fact deciſively proves his foreign extraction.

(39) At Rome, Iſis and Serapis were united in the ſame temple. The precedency which the queen aſſumed, may ſeem to betray her unequal alliance with the ſtranger of Pontus. But the ſuperiority of the female ſex was eſtabliſhed in Egypt as a civil and religious inſtitution (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 31. edit. Weſſeling), and the ſame order is obſerved in Plutarch's Treatiſe of Iſis and *Oſiris*, whom he identifies with Serapis.

(40) Ammianus (xxii. 16.). The Expoſitio totius Mundi (p. 8. in Hudſon's Geograph. Minor, tom. iii.). and Rufinus (l. ii. c. 22.), celebrate the *Serapeum*, as one of the wonders of the world.

ſtately halls, and exquiſite ſtatues, diſplayed the triumph of the arts; and the treaſures of ancient learning were preſerved in the famous Alexandrian library, which had ariſen with new ſplendour from its aſhes (41). After the edicts of Theodoſius had ſeverely prohibited the ſacrifices of the Pagans, they were ſtill tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis; and this ſingular indulgence was imprudently aſcribed to the ſuperſtitious terrors of the Chriſtians themſelves: as if they had feared to aboliſh thoſe ancient rites, which could alone ſecure the inundations of the Nile, the harveſts of Egypt, and the ſubſiſtence of Conſtantinople (42).

Its final deſtruction, A. D. 389.

At that time (43) the archiepiſcopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus (44), the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whoſe hands were alternately polluted with gold, and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis; and the inſults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus, convinced the Pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterpriſe. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the ſlighteſt

(41) See Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. ix. p. 397—416. The *old* library of the Ptolemies was *totally* conſumed in Cæſar's Alexandrian war. Marc Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamus (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the *new* library of Alexandria.

(42) Libanius (pro Templis, p. 21.) indiſcreetly provokes his Chriſtian maſters by this inſulting remark.

(43) We may chuſe between the date of Marcellinus (A. D. 389.) or that of Proſper (A. D. 391.). Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 310. 756.) prefers the former, and Pagi the latter.

(44) Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 441—500. The ambiguous ſituation of Theophilus, a *ſaint*, as the friend of Jerom; a *devil*, as the enemy of Chryſoſtom; produce a ſort of impartiality; yet, upon the whole, the balance is juſtly inclined againſt him.

ſlighteſt provocation was ſufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whoſe ſtrength and numbers were much inferior to thoſe of their antagoniſts, roſe in arms at the inſtigation of the philoſopher Olympius (45), who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of the gods. Theſe Pagan fanatics fortified themſelves in the temple, or rather fortreſs, of Serapis; repelled the beſiegers by daring ſallies, and a reſolute defence; and, by the inhuman cruelties which they exerciſed on their Chriſtian priſoners, obtained the laſt conſolation of deſpair. The efforts of the prudent magiſtrate were uſefully exerted for the eſtabliſhment of a truce, till the anſwer of Theodoſius ſhould determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties aſſembled, without arms, in the principal ſquare; and the Imperial reſcript was publicly read. But when a ſentence of deſtruction againſt the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Chriſtians ſent up a ſhout of joy and exultation, whilſt the unfortunate Pagans, whoſe fury had given way to conſternation, retired with haſty and ſilent ſteps, and eluded, by their flight or obſcurity, the reſentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demoliſh the temple of Serapis, without any other difficulties, than thoſe which he found in the weight and ſolidity of the materials; but theſe obſtacles proved ſo inſuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations; and to content himſelf with reducing the edifice itſelf to a heap of rubbiſh, a part of which was ſoon afterwards cleared away, to

(45) Lardner (Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 411.) has alleged a beautiful paſſage from Suidas, or rather, from Damaſcius, which ſhews the devout and virtuous Olympius, not in the light of a warrior, but of a prophet.

to make room for a church, erected in honour of the Chriſtian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or deſtroyed; and, near twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty ſhelves excited the regret and indignation of every ſpectator, whoſe mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice (46). The compoſitions of ancient genius, ſo many of which have irretrievably periſhed, might ſurely have been excepted from the wreck of idolatry, for the amuſement and inſtruction of ſucceeding ages; and either the zeal or the avarice of the archbiſhop (47), might have been ſatiated with the rich ſpoils, which were the reward of his victory. While the images and vaſes of gold and ſilver were carefully melted, and thoſe of a leſs valuable metal were contemptuouſly broken, and caſt into the ſtreets, Theophilus laboured to expoſe the frauds and vices of the miniſters of the idols; their dexterity in the management of the loadſtone; their ſecret methods of introducing an human actor into a hollow ſtatue; and their ſcandalous abuſe of the confidence of devout huſbands, and unſuſpecting females (48). Charges like

(46) Nos vidimus armaria librorum, quibus direptis, exinanita ea a noſtris hominibus, noſtris temporibus memorant. Oroſius, l. vi. c. 15 p. 421. edit. Havercamp. Though a bigot, and a controverſial writer, Oroſius ſeems to bluſh.

(47) Eunapius, in the lives of Antoninus and Ædeſius, execrates the ſacrilegious rapine of Theophilus. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 453) quotes an epiſtle of Iſidore of Peluſium, which reproaches the primate with the *idolatrous* worſhip of gold, the auri *ſacra* fames.

(48) Rufinus names the prieſt of Saturn, who, in the character of the god, familiarly converſed with many pious ladies of quality: till he betrayed himſelf, in a moment of tranſport, when he could not diſguiſe the tone of his voice. The authentic and impartial narrative of Æſchines (ſee Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, Sca-

like theſe may ſeem to deſerve ſome degree of credit, as they are not repugnant to the crafty and intereſted ſpirit of ſuperſtition. But the ſame ſpirit is equally prone to the baſe practice of inſulting and calumniating a fallen enemy; and our belief is naturally checked by the reflection, that it is much leſs difficult to invent a fictitious ſtory, than to ſupport a practical fraud. The coloſſal ſtatue of Serapis (49) was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals, artificially joined together, compoſed the majeſtic figure of the Deity, who touched on either ſide the walls of the ſanctuary. The aſpect of Serapis, his ſitting poſture, and the ſceptre, which he bore in his left hand, were extremely ſimilar to the ordinary repreſentations of Jupiter. He was diſtinguiſhed from Jupiter by the baſket, or buſhel, which was placed on his head; and by the emblematic monſter, which he held in his right hand: the head and body of a ſerpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf. It was confidently affirmed, that if any impious hand ſhould dare to violate the majeſty of the gods, the heavens and the earth would inſtantly return to their original chaos. An intrepid ſoldier, animated by zeal, and armed with a weighty battle-axe, aſcended the ladder; and even the Chriſtian multitude expected, with ſome anxiety, the event of the combat

SCAMANDRE), and the adventure of Mundus (Joſeph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. xviii. c. 3. p. 877. edit. Havercamp.), may prove that ſuch amorous frauds have been practiſed with ſucceſs.

(49) See the images of Serapis, in Montfaucon (tom. ii. p. 297.): but the deſcription of Macrobius (Saturnal. l. i. c. 20.) is much more picturesque and ſatisfactory.

combat (50). He aimed a vigorous ſtroke againſt the cheek of Serapis; the cheek fell to the ground; the thunder was ſtill ſilent, and both the heavens and the earth continued to preſerve their accuſtomed order and tranquillity. The victorious ſoldier repeated his blows: the huge idol was overthrown, and broken in pieces; and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiouſly dragged through the ſtreets of Alexandria. His mangled carcaſe was burnt in the Amphitheatre, amidſt the ſhouts of the populace; and many perſons attributed their converſion to this diſcovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity. The popular modes of religion, that propoſe any viſible and material objects of worſhip, have the advantage of adapting and familiariſing themſelves to the ſenſes of mankind: but this advantage is counterbalanced by the various and inevitable accidents to which the faith of the idolater is expoſed. It is ſcarcely poſſible, that, in every diſpoſition of mind, he ſhould preſerve his implicit reverence for the idols, or the relics, which the naked eye, and the profane hand, are unable to diſtinguiſh from the moſt common productions of art, or nature; and if, in the hour of danger, their ſecret and miraculous virtue does not operate for their own preſervation, he ſcorns the vain apologies of his prieſts, and juſtly derides the object, and the

(50) Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verendâ
Majeſtate loci, ſi robora ſacra ferirent
In ſua credebant redituras membra ſecures.
(Lucan. iii. 429.) "Is it true (ſaid Auguſtus to a veteran of "Italy, at whoſe houſe he ſupped), that the man, who gave "the firſt blow to the golden ſtatue of Anaitis, was inſtantly "deprived of his eyes, and of his life?" "I was that man (re-"plied the clear-ſighted veteran), and you now ſup on one of the "legs of the goddeſs," (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 24.).

the folly, of his ſuperſtitious attachment (51). After the fall of Serapis, ſome hopes were ſtill entertained by the Pagans, that the Nile would refuſe his annual ſupply to the impious maſters of Egypt; and the extraordinary delay of the inundation ſeemed to announce the diſpleaſure of the river-god. But this delay was ſoon compenſated by the rapid ſwell of the waters. They ſuddenly roſe to ſuch an unuſual height, as to comfort the diſcontented party with the pleaſing expectation of a deluge; till the peaceful river again ſubſided to the well-known and fertilizing level of ſixteen cubits, or about thirty Engliſh feet (52).

The temples of the Roman empire were deſerted, or deſtroyed; but the ingenious ſuperſtition of the Pagans ſtill attempted to elude the laws of Theodoſius, by which all ſacrifices had been ſeverely prohibited. The inhabitants of the country, whoſe conduct was leſs expoſed to the eye of malicious curioſity, diſguiſed their *religious*, under the appearance of *convivial*, meetings. On the days of ſolemn feſtivals, they aſſembled in great numbers under the ſpreading ſhade of ſome conſecrated trees; ſheep and oxen were ſlaughtered and roaſted; and this rural entertainment was ſanctified by the uſe of incenſe, and by the hymns, which were ſung in honour of the gods. But it was alleged, that, as

The Pagan religion is prohibited, A. D. 390.

(51) The Hiſtory of the Reformation affords frequent examples of the ſudden change from ſuperſtition to contempt.

(52) Sozomen, l. vii. c. 20. I have ſupplied the meaſure. The ſame ſtandard, of the inundation, and conſequently of the cubit, has uniformly ſubſiſted ſince the time of Herodotus. See Freret, in the Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvi. p. 344—353. Greaves's Miſcellaneous Works, vol. i. p. 233. The Egyptian cubit is about twenty-two inches of the Engliſh meaſure.

as no part of the animal was made a burnt-offering, as no altar was provided to receive the blood, and as the previous oblation of ſalt cakes, and the concluding ceremony of libations, were carefully omitted, theſe feſtal meetings did not involve the gueſts in the guilt, or penalty, of an illegal ſacrifice (53). Whatever might be the truth of the facts, or the merit of the diſtinction (54), theſe vain pretences were ſwept away by the laſt edict of Theodoſius; which inflicted a deadly wound on the ſuperſtition of the Pagans (55). This prohibitory law is expreſſed in the moſt abſolute and comprehenſive terms. "It is our will and pleaſure," ſays the emperor, "that none of our ſubjects, whether magiſtrates "or private citizens, however exalted, or however humble may be their rank and condition, "ſhall preſume, in any city, or in any place, "to worſhip an inanimate idol, by the ſacrifice "of a guiltleſs victim." The act of ſacrificing, and the practice of divination by the entrails of the victim, are declared (without any regard to the object of the enquiry) a crime of high-treaſon againſt the ſtate; which can be expiated only by the death of the guilty. The rites of Pagan ſuperſtition, which might ſeem leſs bloody and atrocious, are aboliſhed, as highly injurious to

(53) Libanius (pro Templis, p. 15, 16, 17.) pleads their cauſe with gentle and inſinuating rhetoric. From the earlieſt age, ſuch feaſts had enlivened the country; and thoſe of Bacchus (Georgic ii. 380.) had produced the theatre of Athens. See Godefroy, ad loc. Liban. and Codex Theodoſ. tom. vi. p. 284.

(54) Honorius tolerated theſe ruſtic feſtivals (A. D. 399,) "Abſque ullo ſacrificio, atque ullâ ſuperſtitione damnabili." But nine years afterwards he found it neceſſary to reiterate and enforce the ſame proviſo (Codex Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 17. 19.).

(55) Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 12. Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſ. Hiſtory, vol. iv. p. 134.) cenſures, with becoming aſperity, the ſtyle and ſentiments of this intolerant law.

to the truth and honour of religion, luminaries, garlands, frankincenſe, and libations of wine, are ſpecially enumerated and condemned; and the harmleſs claims of the domeſtic genius, of the houſehold gods, are included in this rigorous proſcription. The uſe of any of theſe profane, and illegal ceremonies, ſubjects the offender to the forfeiture of the houſe, or eſtate, where they have been performed; and if he has artfully choſen the property of another for the ſcene of his impiety, he is compelled to diſcharge, without delay, a heavy fine of twenty-five pounds of gold, or more than one thouſand pounds ſterling. A fine, not leſs conſiderable, is impoſed on the connivance of the ſecret enemies of religion, who ſhall neglect the duty of their reſpective ſtations, either to reveal, or to puniſh, the guilt of idolatry. Such was the perſecuting ſpirit of the laws of Theodoſius, which were repeatedly enforced by his ſons and grandſons, with the loud and unanimous applauſe of the Chriſtian world (56).

Oppreſſed,

In the cruel reigns of Decius and Diocletian, Chriſtianity had been proſcribed, as a revolt from the ancient and hereditary religion of the empire; and the unjuſt ſuſpicions which were entertained of a dark and dangerous faction, were, in ſome meaſure, countenanced by the inſeparable union, and rapid conqueſts, of the Catholic church. But the ſame excuſes of fear and

(56) Such a charge ſhould not be lightly made; but it may ſurely be juſtified by the authority of St. Auguſtin, who thus addreſſes the Donatiſts. "Quis noſtrûm, quis veſtrûm non laudat "leges ab Imperatoribus datas adverſus ſacrificia Paganorum? "Et certe longe ibi pœna ſerverior conſtituta eſt; illius quippe "impietatis capitale ſupplicium eſt." Epiſt. xciii. No. 10. quoted by Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choiſie, tom. viii. p. 277.), who adds ſome judicious reflections on the intolerance of the victorious Chriſtians.

and ignorance cannot be applied to the Chriſtian emperors, who violated the precepts of humanity and of the goſpel. The experience of ages had betrayed the weakneſs, as well as folly, of Paganiſm; the light of reaſon and of faith had already expoſed, to the greateſt part of mankind, the vanity of idols; and the declining ſect, which ſtill adhered to their worſhip, might have been permitted to enjoy, in peace and obſcurity, the religious cuſtoms of their anceſtors. Had the Pagans been animated by the undaunted zeal, which poſſeſſed the minds of the primitive believers, the triumph of the church muſt have been ſtained with blood; and the martyrs of Jupiter and Apollo might have embraced the glorious opportunity of devoting their lives and fortunes at the foot of their altars. But ſuch obſtinate zeal was not congenial to the looſe and careleſs temper of polytheiſm. The violent and repeated ſtrokes of the orthodox princes, were broken by the ſoft and yielding ſubſtance againſt which they were directed; and the ready obedience of the Pagans protected them from the pains and penalties of the Theodoſian Code (57). Inſtead of aſſerting, that the authority of the gods was ſuperior to that of the emperor, they deſiſted, with a plaintive murmur, from the uſe of thoſe ſacred rites which their ſovereign had condemned. If they were ſometimes tempted, by a ſally of paſſion, or by the hopes of concealment, to indulge their favourite ſuperſtition; their humble repentance diſarmed the ſeverity of the Chriſtian magiſtrate, and

(57) Oroſius, l. vii. c. 28. p. 537. Auguſtin (Enarrat. in Pſalm cxl. apud Lardner, Heathen Teſtimonies, vol. iv. p. 458.) inſults their cowardice. "Quis eorum comprehenſus eſt in ſacrificio (cum his legibus iſta prohiberentur) et non negavit?"

and they ſeldom refuſed to atone for their raſhneſs, by ſubmitting, with ſome ſecret reluctance, to the yoke of the Goſpel. The churches were filled with the increaſing multitude of theſe unworthy proſelytes, who had conformed, from temporal motives, to the reigning religion; and whilſt they devoutly imitated the poſtures, and recited the prayers, of the faithful, they ſatisfied their conſcience by the ſilent and ſincere invocation of the gods of antiquity (58). If the Pagans wanted patience to ſuffer, they wanted ſpirit to reſiſt; and the ſcattered myriads, who deplored the ruin of the temples, yielded without a conteſt, to the fortune of their adverſaries. The diſorderly oppoſition (59) of the peaſants of Syria, and the populace of Alexandria, to the rage of private fanaticiſm, was ſilenced by the name and authority of the emperor. The Pagans of the Weſt, without contributing to the elevation of Eugenius, diſgraced, by their partial attachment, the cauſe and character of the uſurper. The clergy vehemently exclaimed, that he aggravated the crime of rebellion by the guilt of apoſtacy; that, by his permiſſion, the altar of Victory was again reſtored; and that the idolatrous ſymbols of Jupiter and Hercules were diſplayed in the field, againſt the invincible ſtandard of the croſs. But the vain hopes of the Pagans were ſoon annihilated by the defeat of Eugenius; and they were left expoſed to the reſentment of the conqueror, who laboured to deſerve

(58) Libanius (pro Templis, p. 17, 18.) mentions, without cenſure, the occaſional conformity, and as it were theatrical play, of theſe hypocrites.

(59) Libanius concludes his apology (p. 32.), by declaring to the emperor, that unleſs he expreſsly warrants the deſtruction of the temples, ισθι τους των αργων δεσποτας, και αυτοις, και τω νομω βοηθησοντας, the proprietors will defend themſelves and the laws.

deſerve the favour of Heaven by the extirpation of idolatry (60).

and finally extinguiſhed, A. D. 390—420, &c.

A nation of ſlaves is always prepared to applaud the clemency of their maſter, who, in the abuſe of abſolute power, does not proceed to the laſt extremes of injuſtice and oppreſſion. Theodoſius might undoubtedly have propoſed to his Pagan ſubjects the alternative of baptiſm or of death; and the eloquent Libanius has praiſed the moderation of a prince, who never enacted, by any poſitive law, that all his ſubjects ſhould immediately embrace and practiſe the religion of their ſovereign (61). The profeſſion of Chriſtianity was not made an eſſential qualification for the enjoyment of the civil rights of ſociety, nor were any peculiar hardſhips impoſed on the ſectaries, who credulouſly received the fables of Ovid, and obſtinately rejected the miracles of the Goſpel. The palace, the ſchools, the army, and the ſenate, were filled with declared and devout Pagans; they obtained, without diſtinction, the civil and military honours of the empire. Theodoſius diſtinguiſhed his liberal regard for virtue and genius by the conſular dignity, which he beſtowed on Symmachus (62); and by the perſonal friendſhip which he expreſſed to Libanius

(60) Paulinus, in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 26. Auguſtin de Civitat. Dei, l. v. c. 26. Theodoret, l. v. c. 24.

(61) Libanius ſuggeſts the form of a perſecuting edict, which Theodoſius might enact (pro Templis, p. 32.); a raſh joke, and a dangerous experiment. Some princes would have taken his advice.

(62) Denique pro meritis terreſtribus æque rependens
Munera, ſacricolis ſummos impertit honores.
- - - - - - - -
Ipſe magiſtratum tibi conſulis, ipſe tribunal
Contulit.
Prudent. in Symmach. i. 617, &c.

nius (63); and the two eloquent apologiſts of Paganiſm were never required either to change, or to diſſemble, their religious opinions. The Pagans were indulged in the moſt licentious freedom of ſpeech and writing; the hiſtorical and philoſophic remains of Eunapius, Zoſimus (64), and the fanatic teachers of the ſchool of Plato, betray the moſt furious animoſity, and contain the ſharpeſt invectives againſt the ſentiments and conduct of their victorious adverſaries. If theſe audacious libels were publicly known, we muſt applaud the good ſenſe of the Chriſtian princes, who viewed, with a ſmile of contempt, the laſt ſtruggles of ſuperſtition and deſpair (65). But the Imperial laws, which prohibited the ſacrifices and ceremonies of Paganiſm, were rigidly executed; and every hour contributed to deſtroy the influence of a religion, which was ſupported by cuſtom, rather than by argument. The devotion of the poet, or the philoſopher, may be ſecretly nouriſhed by prayer, meditation, and ſtudy; but the exerciſe of public worſhip appears to be the only ſolid foundation of the religious ſentiments of the people, which derive their force from imitation and habit. The interruption of that public exerciſe may conſummate, in the period of a few years,

(63) Libanius (pro Templis, p. 32.) is proud that Theodoſius could thus diſtinguiſh a man, who even in his *preſence* would ſwear by Jupiter. Yet this preſence ſeems to be no more than a figure of rhetoric.

(64) Zoſimus, who ſtyles himſelf Count and Ex-advocate of the Treaſury, reviles, with partial and indecent bigotry, the Chriſtian princes, and even the father of his ſovereign. His work muſt have been privately circulated, ſince it eſcaped the invectives of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians prior to Evagrius (l. iii. c. 40—42.), who lived towards the end of the ſixth century.

(65) Yet the Pagans of Africa complained, that the times would not allow them to anſwer with freedom the City of God: nor does St. Auguſtin (v. 26.) deny the charge.

years, the important work of a national revolution. The memory of theological opinions cannot long be preſerved, without the artificial helps of prieſts, of temples, and of books (66). The ignorant vulgar, whoſe minds are ſtill agitated by the blind hopes and terrors of ſuperſtition, will be ſoon perſuaded by their ſuperiors, to direct their vows to the reigning deities of the age; and will inſenſibly imbibe an ardent zeal for the ſupport and propagation of the new doctrine, which ſpiritual hunger at firſt compelled them to accept. The generation that aroſe in the world after the promulgation of the Imperial laws, was attracted within the pale of the Catholic church: and ſo rapid, yet ſo gentle, was the fall of Paganiſm, that only twenty-eight years after the death of Theodoſius, the faint and minute veſtiges were no longer viſible to the eye of the legiſlator (67).

The worſhip of the Chriſtian martyrs.

The ruin of the Pagan religion is deſcribed by the ſophiſts, as a dreadful and amazing prodigy, which covered the earth with darkneſs, and reſtored the ancient dominion of chaos and of night. They relate, in ſolemn and pathetic ſtrains, that the temples were converted into ſepulchres, and that the holy places, which had been adorned by the ſtatues of the gods, were baſely polluted by the relics of Chriſtian martyrs. "The monks" (a race of filthy animals, to whom Eunapius is tempted to refuſe the name of

(66) The Moors of Spain, who ſecretly preſerved the Mahometan religion, above a century, under the tyranny of the Inquiſition, poſſeſſed the Koran, with the peculiar uſe of the Arabic tongue. See the curious and honeſt ſtory of their expulſion in Geddes (Miſcellanies, vol. i. p. 1—198.).

(67) Paganos qui ſuperſunt, quanquam jam nullos eſſe credamus, &c. Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 22. A. D. 423. The younger Theodoſius was afterwards ſatisfied, that his judgment had been ſomewhat premature.

of men) " are the authors of the new worſhip, " which, in the place of thoſe deities, who are " conceived by the underſtanding, has ſubſti- " tuted the meaneſt and moſt contemptible " ſlaves. The heads, ſalted and pickled, of " thoſe infamous malefactors, who for the mul- " titude of their crimes have ſuffered a juſt and " ignominious death; their bodies, ſtill marked " by the impreſſion of the laſh, and the ſcars " of thoſe tortures which were inflicted by the " ſentence of the magiſtrate; ſuch" (continues Eunapius) " are the gods which the earth pro- " duces in our days; ſuch are the martyrs, the " ſupreme arbitrators of our prayers and peti- " tions to the Deity, whoſe tombs are now con- " ſecrated as the objects of the veneration of the " people (68)." Without approving the ma- lice, it is natural enough to ſhare the ſurpriſe, of the Sophiſt, the ſpectator of a revolution, which raiſed thoſe obſcure victims of the laws of Rome, to the rank of celeſtial and inviſible pro- tectors of the Roman empire. The grateful reſpect of the Chriſtians for the martyrs of the faith, was exalted, by time and victory, into religious adoration; and the moſt illuſtrious of the ſaints and prophets were deſervedly aſſoci- ated to the honours of the martyrs. One hun- dred and fifty years after the glorious deaths of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Vatican and the Oſtian road were diſtinguiſhed by the tombs, or rather by the trophies, of thoſe ſpiritual he- roes (69). In the age which followed the con-

(68) See Eunapius, in the life of the ſophiſt Ædeſius; in that of Euſtathius he foretels the ruin of Paganiſm, και τι μυθωδες, και αιδες σκοτος τυραννησει τα επι γης καλλιστα.

(69) Caius (apud Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. c. 25.), a Roman preſbyter, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus (A. D. 202—219.), is an early witneſs of this ſuperſtitious practice.

verſion of Conſtantine, the emperors, the conſuls, and the generals of armies, devoutly viſited the ſepulchres of a tent-maker and a fiſherman (70); and their venerable bones were depoſited under the altars of Chriſt, on which the biſhops of the royal city continually offered the unbloody ſacrifice (71). The new capital of the eaſtern world, unable to produce any ancient and domeſtic trophies, was enriched by the ſpoils of dependent provinces. The bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke, and St. Timothy, had repoſed, near three hundred years, in the obſcure graves, from whence they were tranſported, in ſolemn pomp, to the church of the Apoſtles, which the magnificence of Conſtantine had founded on the banks of the Thracian Boſphorus (72). About fifty years afterwards, the ſame banks were honoured by the preſence of Samuel, the judge and prophet of the people of Iſrael. His aſhes, depoſited in a golden vaſe, and covered with a ſilken veil, were delivered by the biſhops into each others hands. The relics of Samuel were received by the people, with the ſame joy and reverence which they would have ſhewn to the living prophet; the highways, from Paleſtine to the

(70) Chryſoſtom. Quod Chriſtus ſit Deus. Tom. i. nov. edit. No. 9. I am indebted for this quotation to Benedict the XIVth's paſtoral letter on the jubilee of the year 1750. See the curious and entertaining letters of M. Chais, tom. iii.

(71) Male facit ergo Romanus epiſcopus? qui, ſuper mortuorum hominum, Petri & Pauli, ſecundum nos, oſſa veneranda .... offert Domino ſacrificia, et tumulos eorum, Chriſti arbitratur altaria. Jerom. tom. ii. adverſ. Vigilant. p. 153.

(72) Jerom (tom. ii. p. 122.) bears witneſs to theſe tranſlations, which are neglected by the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians. The paſſion of St. Andrew at Patræ, is deſcribed in an epiſtle from the clergy of Achaia, which Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 60. No. 34.) wiſhes to believe, and Tillemont is forced to reject. St. Andrew was adopted as the ſpiritual founder of Conſtantinople (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. i. p. 317—323. 588—594.).

he gates of Conſtantinople, were filled with an ninterrupted proceſſion; and the emperor Arcadius himſelf, at the head of the moſt illuſtrious members of the clergy and ſenate, advanced o meet his extraordinary gueſt, who had always eſerved and claimed the homage of kings (73). The example of Rome and Conſtantinople confirmed the faith and diſcipline of the Catholic orld. The honours of the ſaints and martyrs, fter a feeble and ineffectual murmur of profane eaſon (74), were univerſally eſtabliſhed; and in he age of Ambroſe and Jerom, ſomething was till deemed wanting to the ſanctity of a Chriſtian hurch, till it had been conſecrated by ſome ortion of holy relics, which fixed and inflamed he devotion of the faithful.

In the long period of twelve hundred years, hich elapſed between the reign of Conſtantine nd the reformation of Luther, the worſhip of ints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect mplicity of the Chriſtian model; and ſome ymptoms of degeneracy may be obſerved even the firſt generations which adopted and cheiſhed this pernicious innovation. General reflections.

I. The ſatisfactory experience, that the relics f ſaints were more valuable than gold or preious ſtones (75), ſtimulated the clergy to mul- I. Fabulous martyrs and relics.

(73) Jerom (tom. ii. p. 122.) pompouſly deſcribes the tranſlaon of Samuel, which is noticed in all the chronicles of the mes.

(74) The preſbyter Vigilantius, the proteſtant of his age, rmly, though ineffectually, withſtood the ſuperſtition of monks, lics, ſaints, faſts, &c. for which Jerom compares him to the lydra, Cerberus, the Centaurs, &c. and conſiders him only as e organ of the Dæmon (tom. ii. p. 120—126.). Whoever will eruſe the controverſy of St. Jerom and Vigilantius, and St. Auuſtin's account of the miracles of St. Stephen, may ſpeedily gain me idea of the ſpirit of the Fathers.

(75) M. de Beauſobre (Hiſt. du Manicheiſme, tom. ii. p. 648.) as applied a worldly ſenſe to the pious obſervation of the clergy of

tiply the treaſures of the church. Without much regard for truth or probability, they invented names for ſkeletons, and actions for names. The fame of the apoſtles, and of the holy men who had imitated their virtues, was darkened by religious fiction. To the invincible band of genuine and primitive martyrs, they added myriads of imaginary heroes, who had never exiſted, except in the fancy of crafty or credulous legendaries; and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that Tours might not be the only diocese in which the bones of a malefactor were adored, inſtead of thoſe of a ſaint (76). A ſuperſtitious practice, which tended to increaſe the temptations of fraud, and credulity, inſenſibly extinguiſhed the light of hiſtory, and of reaſon, in the Chriſtian world.

II. Miracles.

II. But the progreſs of ſuperſtition would have been much leſs rapid and victorious, if the faith of the people had not been aſſiſted by the ſeaſonable aid of viſions and miracles, to aſcertain the authenticity and virtue of the moſt ſuſpicious relics. In the reign of the younger Theodoſius, Lucian (77), a preſbyter of Jeruſalem, and the eccleſiaſtical miniſter of the village

of Smyrna, who carefully preſerved the relics of St. Polycarp the martyr.

(76) Martin of Tours (See his life, c. 8. by Sulpicius Severus) extorted this confeſſion from the mouth of the dead man. The error is allowed to be natural; the diſcovery is ſuppoſed to be miraculous. Which of the two was likely to happen moſt frequently?

(77) Lucian compoſed in Greek his original narrative, which has been tranſlated by Avitus, and publiſhed by Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 415. No. 7—16.). The Benedictine editors of St. Auguſtin have given (at the end of the work De Civitate Dei) two ſeveral copies, with many various readings. It is the character of falſehood to be looſe and inconſiſtent. The moſt incredible parts of the legend are ſmoothed and ſoftened by Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ii. p. 9, &c.).

ge of Caphargamala, about twenty miles from
he city, related a very ſingular dream, which,
o remove his doubts, had been repeated on three
ucceſſive Saturdays. A venerable figure ſtood
efore him, in the ſilence of the night, with
long beard, a white robe, and a gold rod;
nnounced himſelf by the name of Gamaliel,
nd revealed to the aſtoniſhed preſbyter, that
is own corpſe, with the bodies of his ſon Abi-
as, his friend Nicodemus, and the illuſtrious
tephen, the firſt martyr of the Chriſtian faith,
ere ſecretly buried in the adjacent field. He
dded, with ſome impatience, that it was time
o releaſe himſelf, and his companions, from their
bſcure priſon; that their appearance would be
alutary to a diſtreſſed world; and that they had
nade choice of Lucian to inform the biſhop of
eruſalem of their ſituation, and their wiſhes.
The doubts and difficulties which ſtill retarded
his important diſcovery, were ſucceſſively re-
noved by new viſions: and the ground was
pened by the biſhop, in the preſence of an in-
numerable multitude. The coffins of Gamaliel,
f his ſon, and of his friend, were found in re-
gular order; but when the fourth coffin, which
contained the remains of Stephen, was ſhewn to
the light, the earth trembled, and an odour, ſuch
that of paradiſe, was ſmelt, which inſtantly
cured the various diſeaſes of ſeventy-three of
the aſſiſtants. The companions of Stephen
were left in their peaceful reſidence of Caphar-
gamala: but the relics of the firſt martyr were
ranſported, in ſolemn proceſſion, to a church
conſtructed in their honour on Mount Sion; and
the minute particles of thoſe relics, a drop of
blood

blood (78), or the ſcrapings of a bone, were acknowledged, in almoſt every province of the Roman world, to poſſeſs a divine and miraculous virtue. The grave and learned Auguſtin (79), whoſe underſtanding ſcarcely admits the excuſe of credulity, has atteſted the innumerable prodigies which were performed in Africa, by the relics of St. Stephen; and this marvellous narrative is inſerted in the elaborate work of the City of God, which the biſhop of Hippo deſigned as a ſolid and immortal proof of the truth of Chriſtianity. Auguſtin ſolemnly declares, that he has ſelected thoſe miracles only which were publicly certified by the perſons, who were either the objects, or the ſpectators, of the power of the martyr. Many prodigies were omitted, or forgotten; and Hippo had been leſs favourably treated than the other cities of the province. And yet the biſhop enumerates above ſeventy miracles, of which three were reſurrections from the dead, in the ſpace of two years, and within the limits of his own dioceſe (80). If we enlarge our view to all the dioceſes, and all the ſaints, of the Chriſtian world, it will not be eaſy to calculate the fables, and

(78) A phial of St. Stephen's blood was annually liquefied at Naples, till he was ſuperſeded by St. Januarius (Ruinart. Hiſt. Perſecut. Vandal. p. 529.).

(79) Auguſtin compoſed the two-and-twenty books de Civitate Dei in the ſpace of thirteen years, A. D. 413—426 (Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 608, &c.). His learning is too often borrowed, and his arguments are too often his own; but the whole work claims the merit of a magnificent deſign, vigorouſly, and not unſkilfully, executed.

(80) See Auguſtin de Civitat. Dei, l. xxii. c. 22, and the Appendix, which contains two books of St. Stephen's miracles, by Evodius, biſhop of Uzalis. Freculphus (apud Baſnage, Hiſt. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 249.) has preſerved a Gallic or Spaniſh proverb, "Whoever pretends to have read all the miracles of St. "Stephen, he lies."

nd the errors, which iſſued from this inexhauſti-
le ſource. But we may ſurely be allowed to
bſerve, that a miracle, in that age of ſuper-
ition and credulity, loſt its name and its merit,
nce it could ſcarcely be conſidered as a devia-
ion from the ordinary, and eſtabliſhed, laws of
nature.

III. The innumerable miracles, of which the tombs of the martyrs were the perpetual theatre, revealed to the pious believer the actual ſtate and conſtitution of the inviſible world; and his reli-
ious ſpeculations appeared to be founded on the
irm baſis of fact and experience. Whatever
ight be the condition of vulgar ſouls, in the
ong interval between the diſſolution and the re-
ſurrection of their bodies, it was evident that the
ſuperior ſpirits of the ſaints and martyrs did not
conſume that portion of their exiſtence in ſilent
nd inglorious ſleep (81). It was evident (with-
out preſuming to determine the place of their
habitation, or the nature of their felicity) that
hey enjoyed the lively and active conſciouſneſs
of their happineſs, their virtue, and their pow-
ers; and that they had already ſecured the poſ-
ſeſſion of their eternal reward. The enlarge-
ment of their intellectual faculties, ſurpaſſed the
meaſure of the human imagination; ſince it was
proved by *experience*, that they were capable of
hearing and underſtanding the various petitions
of their numerous votaries; who, in the ſame
moment of time, but in the moſt diſtant parts of
the world, invoked the name and aſſiſtance of
Stephen

III. Reviſal of polytheiſm.

(81) Burnet (de Statû Mortuorum, p. 56—84.) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they aſſert the ſleep, or repoſe, of human ſouls till the day of judgment. He afterwards expoſes (p. 91, &c.) the inconveniencies which muſt ariſe, if they poſſeſſed a more active and ſenſible exiſtence.

Stephen or of Martin (82). The confidence of their petitioners was founded on the perſuaſion, that the ſaints, who reigned with Chriſt, caſt an eye of pity upon earth; that they were warmly intereſted in the proſperity of the Catholic church; and that the individuals, who imitated the example of their faith and piety, were the peculiar and favourite objects of their moſt tender regard. Sometimes, indeed, their friendſhip might be influenced by conſiderations of a leſs exalted kind: they viewed, with partial affection, the places which had been conſecrated by their birth, their reſidence, their death, their burial, or the poſſeſſion of their relics. The meaner paſſions of pride, avarice, and revenge, may be deemed unworthy of a celeſtial breaſt; yet the ſaints themſelves condeſcended to teſtify their grateful approbation of the liberality of their votaries: and the ſharpeſt bolts of puniſhment were hurled againſt thoſe impious wretches, who violated their magnificent ſhrines, or diſbelieved their ſupernatural power (83). Atrocious, indeed, muſt have been the guilt, and ſtrange would have been the ſcepticiſm, of thoſe men, if they had obſtinately reſiſted the proofs of a divine agency, which the elements, the whole range of the animal creation, and even the ſubtle and inviſible operations of the human mind,

(82) Vigilantius placed the ſouls of the prophets and martyrs either in the boſom of Abraham (in loco refrigerii), or elſe under the altar of God. Nec poſſe ſuis tumulis et ubi voluerunt adeſſe præſentes. But Jerom (tom. ii. p. 112.) ſternly refutes this *blaſphemy*. Tu Deo leges pones? Tu apoſtolis vincula injicies, ut uſque ad diem judicii teneantur cuſtodiâ, nec ſint cum Domino ſuo; de quibus ſcriptum eſt, Sequuntur Agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi, qui cum Agno ſunt, ubique eſſe credendi ſunt. Et cum diabolus et dæmones toto vagentur in orbe, &c.

(83) Fleury, Diſcours ſur l'Hiſt. Eccleſiaſtique, iii. p. 80.

mind, were compelled to obey (84). The immediate, and almoſt inſtantaneous, effects, that were ſuppoſed to follow the prayer, or the offence, ſatisfied the Chriſtians, of the ample meaſure of favour and authority, which the ſaints enjoyed in the preſence of the Supreme God; and it ſeemed almoſt ſuperfluous to enquire, whether they were continually obliged to intercede before the throne of grace; or whether they might not be permitted to exerciſe, according to the dictates of their benevolence and juſtice, the delegated powers of their ſubordinate miniſtry. The imagination, which had been raiſed by a painful effort to the contemplation and worſhip of the Univerſal Cauſe, eagerly embraced ſuch inferior objects of adoration, as were more proportioned to its groſs conceptions and imperfect faculties. The ſublime and ſimple theology of the primitive Chriſtians was gradually corrupted; and the MONARCHY of heaven, already clouded by metaphyſical ſubtleties, was degraded by the introduction of a popular mythology, which tended to reſtore the reign of polytheiſm (85).

IV. Introduction of Pagan ceremonies.

IV. As the objects of religion were gradually reduced to the ſtandard of the imagination, the rites and ceremonies were introduced that ſeemed moſt powerfully to affect the ſenſes of the vulgar. If, in the beginning of the fifth century

(84) At Minorca, the relics of St. Stephen converted, in eight days, 540 Jews; with the help, indeed, of ſome wholeſome ſeverities, ſuch as burning the ſynagogue, driving the obſtinate infidels to ſtarve among the rocks, &c. See the original letter of Severus biſhop of Minorca (ad calcem S. Auguſtin. de Civ. Dei), and the judicious remarks of Baſnage (tom. viii. p. 245—251.).

(85) Mr. Hume (Eſſays, vol. ii. p. 434.) obſerves, like a philoſopher, the natural flux and reflux of polytheiſm and theiſm.

tury (86), Tertullian, or Lactantius (87), had been ſudenly raiſed from the dead, to aſſiſt at the feſtival of ſome popular ſaint, or martyr (88); they would have gazed with aſtoniſhment, and indignation, on the profane ſpectacle, which had ſucceeded to the pure and ſpiritual worſhip of a Chriſtian congregation. As ſoon as the doors of the church were thrown open, they muſt have been offended by the ſmoke of incenſe, the perfume of flowers, and the glare of lamps and tapers, which diffuſed, at noon-day, a gawdy, ſuperfluous, and, in their opinion, a ſacrilegious light. If they approached the baluſtrade of the altar, they made their way through the proſtrate crowd, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of ſtrangers and pilgrims, who reſorted to the city on the vigil of the feaſt; and who already felt the ſtrong intoxication of fanaticiſm, and, perhaps, of wine. Their devout kiſſes were imprinted on the walls and pavement of the ſacred edifice; and their fervent prayers were directed, whatever might be the language of their church, to the bones, the blood, or the aſhes of the ſaint, which were uſually concealed, by a linen or ſilken

(86) D'Aubigné (See his own Memoires, p. 156—160.) frankly offered, with the conſent of the Huguenot miniſters, to allow the firſt 400 years as the rule of faith. The cardinal du Perron haggled for forty years more, which were indiſcreetly given. Yet neither party would have found their account in this fooliſh bargain.

(87) The worſhip practiſed and inculcated by Tertullian, Lactantius, Arnobius, &c. is ſo *extremely* pure and ſpiritual, that their declamations againſt the Pagan, ſometimes glance againſt the Jewiſh, ceremonies.

(88) Fauſtus the Manichæan accuſes the Catholics of idolatry. Vertitis idola in martyres . . . quos votis ſimilibus colitis. M. de Beauſobre (Hiſt. Critique du Manicheiſme, tom. ii. p. 629—700.), a Proteſtant, but a philoſopher, has repreſented, with candour and learning, the introduction of *Chriſtian idolatry* in the fourth and fifth centuries.

ſilken veil, from the eyes of the vulgar. The Chriſtians frequented the tombs of the martyrs, in the hope of obtaining, from their powerful interceſſion, every ſort of ſpiritual, but more eſpecially of temporal, bleſſings. They implored the preſervation of their health, or the cure of their infirmities; the fruitfulneſs of their barren wives, or the ſafety and happineſs of their children. Whenever they undertook any diſtant or dangerous journey, they requeſted, that the holy martyrs would be their guides and protectors on the road; and if they returned, without having experienced any misfortune, they again haſtened to the tombs of the martyrs, to celebrate, with grateful thankſgivings, their obligations to the memory and relics of thoſe heavenly patrons. The walls were hung round with ſymbols of the favours, which they had received; eyes, and hands, and feet, of gold and ſilver: and edifying pictures, which could not long eſcape the abuſe of indiſcreet or idolatrous devotion, repreſented the image, the attributes, and the miracles of the tutelar ſaint. The ſame uniform original ſpirit of ſuperſtition might ſuggeſt, in the moſt diſtant ages and countries, the ſame methods of deceiving the credulity, and of affecting the ſenſes of mankind (89): but it muſt ingenuouſly be confeſſed, that the miniſters of the Catholic church imitated the profane model, which they were impatient to deſtroy. The moſt reſpectable biſhops had perſuaded themſelves, that the ignorant ruſtics would more cheerfully renounce the ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm,

(89) The reſemblance of ſuperſtition, which could not be imitated, might be traced from Japan to Mexico. Warburton has ſeized this idea, which he diſtorts, by rendering it too general and abſolute (Divine Legation, vol. iv. p. 126, &c.).

iſm, if they found ſome reſemblance, ſome compenſation, in the boſom of Chriſtianity. The religion of Conſtantine atchieved, in leſs than a century, the final conqueſt of the Roman empire: but the victors themſelves were inſenſibly ſubdued by the arts of their vanquiſhed rivals (90).

(90) The imitation of Paganiſm is the ſubject of Dr. Middleton's agreeable letter from Rome. Warburton's animadverſions obliged him to connect (vol. iii. p. 120—132.) the hiſtory of the two religions; and to prove the antiquity of the Chriſtian copy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Final Diviſion of the Roman Empire between the Sons of Theodoſius.—Reign of Arcadius and Honorius.—Adminiſtration of Ruſinus and Stilicho.—Revolt and Defeat of Gildo in Africa.

THE genius of Rome expired with Theodoſius; the laſt of the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus and Conſtantine, who appeared in the field at the head of their armies, and whoſe authority was univerſally acknowledged throughout the whole extent of the empire. The memory of his virtues ſtill continued, however, to protect the feeble and inexperienced youth of his two ſons. After the death of their father, Arcadius and Honorius were ſaluted, by the unanimous conſent of mankind, as the lawful emperors of the Eaſt, and of the Weſt; and the oath of fidelity was eagerly taken by every order of the ſtate; the ſenates of old and new Rome, the clergy, the magiſtrates, the ſoldiers, and the people. Arcadius, who then was about eighteen years of age, was born in Spain, in the humble habitation of a private family. But he received a princely education in the palace of Conſtantinople; and his inglorious life was ſpent in that peaceful and ſplendid ſeat of royalty, from whence he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Aſia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Perſia and Æthiopia. His younger brother, Honorius, aſſumed, in the eleventh year of his age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and the

Diviſion of the empire between Arcadius and Honorius, A. D. 395, Jan. 17.

the troops, which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, were oppoſed, on one ſide, to the Caledonians, and on the other to the Moors. The great and martial præfecture of Illyricum was divided between the two princes: the defence and poſſeſſion of the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, ſtill belonged to the weſtern empire; but the two large dioceſes of Dacia and Macedonia, which Gratian had entruſted to the valour of Theodoſius, were for ever united to the empire of the Eaſt. The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now ſeparates the Germans and the Turks; and the reſpective advantages of territory, riches, populouſneſs, and military ſtrength, were fairly balanced and compenſated, in this final and permanent diviſion of the Roman empire. The hereditary ſceptre of the ſons of Theodoſius appeared to be the gift of nature, and of their father; the generals and miniſters had been accuſtomed to adore the majeſty of the royal infants; and the army and people were not admoniſhed of their rights, and of their power, by the dangerous example of a recent election. The gradual diſcovery of the weakneſs of Arcadius and Honorius, and the repeated calamities of their reign, were not ſufficient to obliterate the deep and early impreſſions of loyalty. The ſubjects of Rome, who ſtill reverenced the perſons, or rather the names, of their ſovereigns, beheld, with equal abhorrence, the rebels who oppoſed, and the miniſters who abuſed, the authority of the throne.

Character and adminiſtration of Rufinus, A.D. 386-395.

Theodoſius had tarniſhed the glory of his reign by the elevation of Rufinus; an odious favourite, who, in an age of civil and religious faction, has deſerved, from every party, the impu-

imputation of every crime. The ſtrong impulſe of ambition and avarice (1) had urged Rufinus to abandon his native country, an obſcure corner of Gaul (2), to advance his fortune in the capital of the Eaſt: the talent of bold and ready elocution (3) qualified him to ſucceed in the lucrative profeſſion of the law: and his ſucceſs in that profeſſion was a regular ſtep to the moſt honourable and important employments of the ſtate. He was raiſed, by juſt degrees, to the ſtation of maſter of the offices. In the exerciſe of his various functions, ſo eſſentially connected with the whole ſyſtem of civil government, he acquired the confidence of a monarch, who ſoon diſcovered his diligence and capacity in buſineſs, and who long remained ignorant of the pride, the malice, and the covetouſneſs of his diſpoſition. Theſe vices were concealed beneath the maſk of profound diſſimulation (4); his paſſions were ſubſervient only to the paſſions of his maſter: yet, in the horrid maſſacre of Theſſalonica, the cruel Rufinus inflamed the fury, without imitating the repentance of Theodoſius. The miniſter, who viewed with proud indifference the reſt of mankind, never forgave the appearance of an injury; and his

(1) Alecto, envious of the public felicity, convenes an infernal ſynod, Megæra recommends her pupil Rufinus, and excites him to deeds of miſchief, &c. But there is as much difference between Claudian's fury and that of Virgil, as between the characters of Turnus and Rufinus.

(2) It is evident (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 770.), though de Marca is aſhamed of his countryman, that Rufinus was born at Eluſa, the metropolis of Novempopulania, now a ſmall village of Gaſcony (d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 289.).

(3) Philoſtorgius, l. xi. c. 3. with Godefroy's Diſſert. p. 440.

(4) A paſſage of Suidas is expreſſive of his profound diſſimulation; βαθυγνωμων ανθρωπος και κρυψινους.

his perſonal enemies had forfeited, in his opinion, the merit of all public ſervices. Promotus, the maſter-general of the infantry, had ſaved the empire from the invaſion of the Oſtrogoths; but he indignantly ſupported the preeminence of a rival, whoſe character and profeſſion he deſpiſed; and, in the midſt of a public council, the impatient ſoldier was provoked to chaſtiſe with a blow the indecent pride of the favourite. This act of violence was repreſented to the emperor as an inſult, which it was incumbent on *his* dignity to reſent. The diſgrace and exile of Promotus were ſignified by a peremptory order, to repair, without delay, to a military ſtation on the banks of the Danube: and the death of that general (though he was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh with the Barbarians) was imputed to the perfidious arts of Rufinus (5). The ſacrifice of an hero gratified his revenge; the honours of the conſulſhip elated his vanity; but his power was ſtill imperfect and precarious, as long as the important poſts of præfect of the Eaſt, and of præfect of Conſtantinople, were filled by Tatian (6), and his ſon Proculus; whoſe united authority balanced, for ſome time, the ambition and favour of the maſter of the offices. The two præfects were accuſed of rapine and corruption in the adminiſtration of the laws and finances. For the trial of theſe illuſtrious offenders, the emperor conſtituted a ſpecial

(5) Zoſimus, l. iv. p. 272, 273.

(6) Zoſimus, who deſcribes the fall of Tatian and his ſon (l. iv. p. 273, 274.), aſſerts their innocence: and even *his* teſtimony may outweigh the charges of their enemies (Cod. Theodoſ. iv. p. 489.), who accuſe them of oppreſſing the *Curiæ*. The connection of Tatian with the Arians, while he was præfect of Egypt (A. D. 373.), inclines Tillemont to believe that he was guilty of every crime (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 360. Mem. Eccleſ. tom. vi. p. 589.).

a ſpecial commiſſion; ſeveral judges were named to ſhare the guilt and reproach of injuſtice; but the right of pronouncing ſentence was reſerved to the preſident alone, and that preſident was Rufinus himſelf. The father, ſtripped of the præfecture of the Eaſt, was thrown into a dungeon; but the ſon, conſcious that few miniſters can be found innocent, where an enemy is their judge, had ſecretly eſcaped; and Rufinus muſt have been ſatisfied with the leaſt obnoxious victim, if deſpotiſm had not condeſcended to employ the baſeſt and moſt ungenerous artifice. The proſecution was conducted with an appearance of equity and moderation, which flattered Tatian with the hope of a favourable event; his confidence was fortified by the ſolemn aſſurances, and perfidious oaths, of the preſident, who preſumed to interpoſe the ſacred name of Theodoſius himſelf; and the unhappy father was at laſt perſuaded to recall, by a private letter, the fugitive Proculus. He was inſtantly ſeized, examined, condemned, and beheaded, in one of the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople, with a precipitation which diſappointed the clemency of the emperor. Without reſpecting the misfortunes of a conſular ſenator, the cruel judges of Tatian compelled him to behold the execution of his ſon: the fatal cord was faſtened round his own neck; but in the moment when he expected, and perhaps deſired, the relief of a ſpeedy death, he was permitted to conſume the miſerable remnant of his old age in poverty and exile (7). The puniſhment of the two

(7) —— Juvenum rorantia colla
Ante patrum vultus ſtrictâ cecidere ſecurî.

Ibat

præfects might, perhaps, be excuſed by the exceptionable parts of their own conduct; the enmity of Rufinus might be palliated by the jealous and unſociable nature of ambition. But he indulged a ſpirit of revenge, equally repugnant to prudence and to juſtice, when he degraded their native country of Lycia, from the rank of Roman provinces; ſtigmatiſed a guiltleſs people with a mark of ignominy; and declared, that the countrymen of Tatian and Proculus ſhould for ever remain incapable of holding any employment of honour or advantage, under the Imperial government (8). The new præfect of the Eaſt (for Rufinus inſtantly ſucceeded to the vacant honours of his adverſary) was not diverted, however, by the moſt criminal purſuits, from the performance of the religious duties, which in that age were conſidered as the moſt eſſential to ſalvation. In the ſuburb of Chalcedon, ſurnamed the *Oak*, he had built a magnificent villa; to which he devoutly added a ſtately church, conſecrated to the apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul, and continually ſanctified

Ibat grandævus nato moriente ſuperſtes
Poſt trabeas exſul.

In Rufin. i. 248.

The *facts* of Zoſimus explain the *alluſions* of Claudian; but his claſſic interpreters were ignorant of the fourth century. The *fatal cord*, I found, with the help of Tillemont, in a ſermon of St. Aſterius of Amaſea.

(8) This odious law is recited, and repealed, by Arcadius (A. D. 396.), in the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxviii. leg. 9. The ſenſe, as it is explained by Claudian (in Rufin. i. 234.) and Godefroy (tom. iii. p. 279.), is perfectly clear.

——— Exſcindere cives
Funditus; et nomen gentis delere laborat.

The ſcruples of Pagi and Tillemont can ariſe only from their zeal for the glory of Theodoſius.

tified by the prayers, and penance, of a regular ſociety of monks. A numerous, and almoſt general, ſynod of the biſhops of the eaſtern empire was ſummoned to celebrate, at the ſame time, the dedication of the church, and the baptiſm of the founder. This double ceremony was performed with extraordinary pomp; and when Rufinus was purified, in the holy font, from all the ſins that he had hitherto committed, a venerable hermit of Egypt raſhly propoſed himſelf as the ſponſor of a proud and ambitious ſtateſman (9).

The character of Theodoſius impoſed on his miniſter the taſk of hypocriſy, which diſguiſed, and ſometimes reſtrained, the abuſe of power; and Rufinus was apprehenſive of diſturbing the indolent ſlumber of a prince, ſtill capable of exerting the abilities, and the virtue, which had raiſed him to the throne (10). But the abſence, and, ſoon afterwards, the death, of the emperor, confirmed the abſolute authority of Rufinus over the perſon and dominions of Arcadius; a feeble youth, whom the imperious præfect conſidered as his pupil, rather than his ſovereign. Regardleſs of the public opinion, he indulged his paſſions without remorſe, and without reſiſtance; and his malignant and rapacious ſpirit rejected

He oppreſſes the Eaſt, A. D. 395.

(9) Ammonius . . . Rufinum propriis manibus ſuſcepit ſacro fonte mundatum. See Roſweyde's Vitæ Patrum, p. 947. Sozomen (l. viii. c. 17.) mentions the church and monaſtery; and Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 593.) records this ſynod, in which St. Gregory of Nyſſa performed a conſpicuous part.

(10) Monteſquieu (Eſprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 12.) praiſes one of the laws of Theodoſius, addreſſed to the præfect Rufinus (l. ix. tit. iv. leg. unic.), to diſcourage the proſecution of treaſonable, or ſacrilegious, words. A tyrannical ſtatute always proves the exiſtence of tyranny: but a laudable edict may only contain the ſpecious profeſſions, or ineffectual wiſhes, of the prince, or his miſters. This, I am afraid, is a juſt, though mortifying, canon of criticiſm.

every paſſion that might have contributed to his own glory, or the happineſs of the people. His avarice (11), which ſeems to have prevailed, in his corrupt mind, over every other ſentiment, attracted the wealth of the Eaſt, by the various arts of partial, and general, extortion; oppreſſive taxes, ſcandalous bribery, immoderate fines, unjuſt confiſcations, forced or fictitious teſtaments, by which the tyrant deſpoiled of their lawful inheritance the children of ſtrangers, or enemies; and the public ſale of juſtice, as well as of favour, which he inſtituted in the palace of Conſtantinople. The ambitious candidate eagerly ſolicited, at the expence of the faireſt part of his patrimony, the honours and emoluments of ſome provincial government; the lives and fortunes of the unhappy people were abandoned to the moſt liberal purchaſer; and the public diſcontent was ſometimes appeaſed by the ſacrifice of an unpopular criminal, whoſe puniſhment was profitable only to the præfect of the Eaſt, his accomplice and his judge. If avarice were not the blindeſt of the human paſſions, the motives of Rufinus might excite our curioſity; and we might be tempted to inquire, with what view he violated every principle of humanity and juſtice, to accumulate thoſe immenſe treaſures, which he could not ſpend without folly, nor poſſeſs without danger. Perhaps he vainly imagined, that he laboured for the intereſt

(11) ——— —— fluctibus auri
Expleri ille calor nequit———
- - - - - -
Congeſtæ cumulantur opes; orbiſque rapinas
Accipit una domus———

This character (Claudian. in Rufin. i. 184—220.) is confirmed by Jerom, a diſintereſted witneſs (dedecus inſatiabilis avaritiæ, tom. i. ad Heliodor. p. 26.), by Zoſimus (l. v. p. 286.), and by Suidas, who copied the hiſtory of Eunapius.

tereſt of an only daughter, on whom he intended to beſtow his royal pupil, and the auguſt rank of Empreſs of the Eaſt. Perhaps he deceived himſelf by the opinion, that his avarice was the inſtrument of his ambition. He aſpired to place his fortune on a ſecure and independent baſis, which ſhould no longer depend on the caprice of the young emperor; yet he neglected to conciliate the hearts of the ſoldiers and people, by the liberal diſtribution of thoſe riches, which he had acquired with ſo much toil, and with ſo much guilt. The extreme parſimony of Rufinus left him only the reproach, and envy, of ill-gotten wealth; his dependents ſerved him without attachment; the univerſal hatred of mankind was repreſſed only by the influence of ſervile fear. The fate of Lucian proclaimed to the Eaſt, that the præfect, whoſe induſtry was much abated in the diſpatch of ordinary buſineſs, was active and indefatigable in the purſuit of revenge. Lucian, the ſon of the præfect Florentius, the oppreſſor of Gaul, and the enemy of Julian, had employed a conſiderable part of his inheritance, the fruit of rapine and corruption, to purchaſe the friendſhip of Rufinus, and the high office of Count of the Eaſt. But the new magiſtrate imprudently departed from the maxims of the court, and of the times; diſgraced his benefactor, by the contraſt of a virtuous and temperate adminiſtration; and preſumed to refuſe an act of injuſtice, which might have tended to the profit of the emperor's uncle. Arcadius was eaſily perſuaded to reſent the ſuppoſed inſult; and the præfect of the Eaſt reſolved to execute in perſon the cruel vengeance, which he meditated againſt this ungrateful delegate of his power.

He

He performed with inceſſant ſpeed the journey of ſeven or eight hundred miles, from Conſtantinople to Antioch, entered the capital of Syria at the dead of night, and ſpread univerſal conſternation among a people, ignorant of his deſign, but not ignorant of his character. The count of the fifteen provinces of the Eaſt was dragged, like the vileſt malefactor, before the arbitrary tribunal of Rufinus. Notwithſtanding the cleareſt evidence of his integrity, which was not impeached even by the voice of an accuſer, Lucian was condemned, almoſt without a trial, to ſuffer a cruel and ignominious puniſhment. The miniſters of the tyrant, by the order, and in the preſence, of their maſter, beat him on the neck with leather thongs, armed at the extremities with lead; and when he fainted under the violence of the pain, he was removed in a cloſe litter, to conceal his dying agonies from the eyes of the indignant city. No ſooner had Rufinus perpetrated this inhuman act, the ſole object of his expedition, than he returned, amidſt the deep, and ſilent, curſes of a trembling people, from Antioch to Conſtantinople; and his diligence was accelerated, by the hope of accompliſhing, without delay, the nuptials of his daughter with the emperor of the Eaſt (12).

He is diſappointed, by the marriage of Arcadius, A. D. 395, April 27.

But Rufinus ſoon experienced, that a prudent miniſter ſhould conſtantly ſecure his royal captive by the ſtrong, though inviſible, chain of habit; and that the merit, and much more eaſily the

(12) ——— Cætera ſegnis;
Ad facinus velox; penitus regione remotas
Impiger ire vias.
This alluſion of Claudian (in Rufin. i. 241.) is again explained by the circumſtantial narrative of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 288, 289.).

favour, of the abſent, are obliterated in a ſhort time from the mind of a weak and capricious ſovereign. While the præfect ſatiated his revenge at Antioch, a ſecret conſpiracy of the favourite eunuchs, directed by the great chamberlain Eutropius, undermined his power in the palace of Conſtantinople. They diſcovered that Arcadius was not inclined to love the daughter of Rufinus, who had been choſen, without his conſent, for his bride; and they contrived to ſubſtitute in her place the fair Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto (13), a general of the Franks in the ſervice of Rome; and who was educated, ſince the death of her father, in the family of the ſons of Promotus. The young emperor, whoſe chaſtity had been ſtrictly guarded by the pious care of his tutor Arſenius (14), eagerly liſtened to the artful and flattering deſcriptions of the charms of Eudoxia: he gazed with impatient ardour on her picture, and he underſtood the neceſſity of concealing his amorous deſigns from the knowledge of a miniſter, who was ſo deeply intereſted to oppoſe the conſummation of his happineſs. Soon after the return of Rufinus, the approaching ceremony of the royal nuptials was announced to the people of Conſtantinople, who prepared to celebrate, with falſe and hollow acclamations, the fortune of his

(13) Zoſimus (l. iv. p. 243.) praiſes the valour, prudence, and integrity, of Bauto the Frank. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 771.

(14) Arſenius eſcaped from the palace of Conſtantinople, and paſſed fifty-five years in rigid penance in the monaſteries of Egypt. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 676—702.; and Fleury, Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. v. p. 1, &c.: but the latter, for want of authentic materials, has given too much credit to the legend of Metaphraſtes.

his daughter. A ſplendid train of eunuchs and officers iſſued, in hymeneal pomp, from the gates of the palace; bearing aloft the diadem, the robes, and the ineſtimable ornaments, of the future empreſs. The ſolemn proceſſion paſſed through the ſtreets of the city, which were adorned with garlands, and filled with ſpectators; but, when it reached the houſe of the ſons of Promotus, the principal eunuch reſpectfully entered the manſion, inveſted the fair Eudoxia with the Imperial robes, and conducted her in triumph to the palace and bed of Arcadius (15). The ſecrecy, and ſucceſs, with which this conſpiracy againſt Rufinus had been conducted, imprinted a mark of indelible ridicule on the character of a miniſter, who had ſuffered himſelf to be deceived, in a poſt where the arts of deceit and diſſimulation conſtitute the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit. He conſidered, with a mixture of indignation and fear, the victory of an aſpiring eunuch, who had ſecretly captivated the favour of his ſovereign; and the diſgrace of his daughter, whoſe intereſt was inſeparably connected with his own, wounded the tenderneſs, or, at leaſt, the pride, of Rufinus. At the moment when he flattered himſelf that he ſhould become the father of a line of kings, a foreign maid, who had been educated in the houſe of his implacable enemies, was introduced into the Imperial bed; and Eudoxia ſoon diſplayed a ſuperiority of ſenſe and ſpirit, to improve

(15) This ſtory (Zoſimus, l. v. p. 290.) proves that the hymeneal rites of antiquity were ſtill practiſed, without idolatry, by the Chriſtians of the Eaſt; and the bride was *forcibly* conducted from the houſe of her parents to that of her huſband. Our form of marriage requires, with leſs delicacy, the expreſs and public conſent of a virgin.

prove the aſcendant which her beauty muſt acquire over the mind of a fond and youthful huſband. The emperor would ſoon be inſtructed to hate, to fear, and to deſtroy, the powerful ſubject, whom he had injured; and the conſciouſneſs of guilt deprived Rufinus of every hope, either of ſafety or comfort, in the retirement of a private life. But he ſtill poſſeſſed the moſt effectual means of defending his dignity, and perhaps of oppreſſing his enemies. The præfect ſtill exerciſed an uncontrouled authority over the civil and military government of the Eaſt: and his treaſures, if he could reſolve to uſe them, might be employed to procure proper inſtruments, for the execution of the blackeſt deſigns, that pride, ambition, and revenge, could ſuggeſt to a deſperate ſtateſman. The character of Rufiuus ſeemed to juſtify the accuſations, that he conſpired againſt the perſon of his ſovereign, to ſeat himſelf on the vacant throne; and that he had ſecretly invited the Huns, and the Goths, to invade the provinces of the empire, and to increaſe the public confuſion. The ſubtle præfect, whoſe life had been ſpent in the intrigues of the palace, oppoſed, with equal arms, the artful meaſures of the eunuch Eutropius; but the timid ſoul of Rufinus was aſtoniſhed by the hoſtile approach of a more formidable rival, of the great Stilicho, the general, or rather the maſter, of the empire of the Weſt (16).

The celeſtial gift, which Achilles obtained, and Alexander envied, of a poet worthy to celebrate

Character of Stilicho, the miniſter and gene-

(16) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 290.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 37.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Claudian (in Rufin. ii. 7—100.) paints in lively colours, the diſtreſs and guilt of the præfect.

ral of the Weſtern empire.

brate the actions of heroes, has been enjoyed by Stilicho, in a much higher degree than might have been expected from the declining ſtate of genius, and of art. The muſe of Claudian (17), devoted to his ſervice, was always prepared to ſtigmatiſe his adverſaries, Rufinus, or Eutropius, with eternal infamy; or to paint, in the moſt ſplendid colours, the victories, and virtues, of a powerful benefactor. In the review of a period indifferently ſupplied with authentic materials, we cannot refuſe to illuſtrate the annals of Honorius, from the invectives, or the panegyrics, of a contemporary writer; but as Claudian appears to have indulged the moſt ample privilege of a poet, and a courtier, ſome criticiſm will be requiſite to tranſlate the language of fiction, or exaggeration, into the truth and ſimplicity of hiſtoric proſe. His ſilence concerning the family of Stilicho may be admitted as a proof, that his patron was neither able, nor deſirous, to boaſt of a long ſeries of illuſtrious progenitors; and the ſlight mention of his father, an officer of Barbarian cavalry, in the ſervice of Valens, ſeems to countenance the aſſertion, that the general, who ſo long commanded the armies of Rome, was deſcended from the ſavage and perfidious race of the Vandals (18). If Stilicho had not poſſeſſed the external advantages of ſtrength and ſtature, the moſt flattering bard, in the preſence of ſo many thouſand ſpectators, would have heſitated to affirm, that he ſurpaſſed the meaſure

(17) Stilicho, directly, or indirectly, is the perpetual theme of Claudian. The youth, and private life of the hero, are vaguely expreſſed in the poem on his firſt conſulſhip, 35—140.

(18) Vandalorum, imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ, et doloſæ, gentis, genere editus. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 38. Jerom (tom. i. ad Gerontiam, p. 93.) calls him a Semi-Barbarian.

meaſure of the demi-gods of antiquity; and, that whenever he moved, with loſty ſteps, through the ſtreets of the capital, the aſtoniſhed crowd made room for the ſtranger, who diſplayed, in a private condition, the awful majeſty of a hero. From his earlieſt youth he embraced the profeſſion of arms; his prudence and valour were ſoon diſtinguiſhed in the field; the horſemen and archers of the Eaſt admired his ſuperior dexterity; and in each degree of his military promotions, the public judgment always prevented and approved the choice of the ſovereign. He was named by Theodoſius, to ratify a ſolemn treaty with the monarch of Perſia: he ſupported, during that important embaſſy, the dignity of the Roman name; and after his return to Conſtantinople, his merit was rewarded by an intimate and honourable alliance with the Imperial family. Theodoſius had been prompted, by a pious motive of fraternal affection, to adopt, for his own, the daughter of his brother Honorius; the beauty and accompliſhments of Serena (19) were univerſally admired by the obſequious court; and Stilicho obtained the preference over a crowd of rivals, who ambitiouſly diſputed the hand of the princeſs, and the favour of her adoptive father (20). The aſſurance that the huſband of Serena would be faithful to the throne, which he was permitted to approach, engaged the emperor to exalt the fortunes, and to employ the abilities,

(19) Claudian, in an imperfect poem, has drawn a fair, perhaps a flattering, portrait of Serena. That favourite niece of Theodoſius was born, as well as her ſiſter Thermantia, in Spain; from whence, in their earlieſt youth, they were honourably conducted to the palace of Conſtantinople.

(20) Some doubt may be entertained, whether this adoption was legal, or only metaphorical (See Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 75.). An old inſcription gives Stilicho the ſingular title of *Progener Divi Theodoſii*.

ties, of the ſagacious and intrepid Stilicho. He roſe through the ſucceſſive ſteps of maſter of the horſe, and count of the domeſtics, to the ſupreme rank of maſter-general of all the cavalry and infantry of the Roman, or at leaſt of the Weſtern, empire (21); and his enemies confeſſed, that he invariably diſdained to barter for gold the rewards of merit, or to defraud the ſoldiers of the pay and gratifications, which they deſerved, or claimed, from the liberality of the ſtate (22). The valour and conduct which he afterwards diſplayed, in the defence of Italy, againſt the arms of Alaric and Radagaiſus, may juſtify the fame of his early atchievements, and in an age leſs attentive to the laws of honour, or of pride, the Roman generals might yield the pre-eminence of rank, to the aſcendant of ſuperior genius (23). He lamented, and revenged, the murder of Promotus, his rival and his friend; and the maſſacre of many thouſands of the flying Baſtarnæ is repreſented by the poet, as a bloody ſacrifice, which the Roman Achilles offered to the manes of another Patroclus. The virtues and victories of Stilicho deſerved the hatred of Rufinus: and the arts of calumny might have

His military command. A. D. 385—408.

(21) Claudian (Laus Serenæ, 190. 193.) expreſſes, in poetic language, the "dilectus equorum," and the "gemino mox idem "culmine duxit agmina." The inſcription adds, "count of the "domeſtics," an important command, which Stilicho, in the height of his grandeur, might prudently retain.

(22) The beautiful lines of Claudian (in i Conſ. Stilich. ii. 113.) diſplay *his* genius: but the integrity of Stilicho (in the military adminiſtration) is much more firmly eſtabliſhed by the unwilling evidence of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 345.).

(23) ——— Si bellica moles
Ingrueret, quamvis annis et jure minori,
Cedere grandævos equitum peditumque magiſtros
Adſpiceres. ———
Claudian, Laus Seren. p. 196, &c.

A modern general would deem their ſubmiſſion, either heroic patriotiſm, or abject ſervility.

have been ſucceſsful, if the tender and vigilant Serena had not protected her huſband againſt his domeſtic foes, whilſt he vanquiſhed in the field the enemies of the empire (24). Theodoſius continued to ſupport an unworthy miniſter, to whoſe diligence he delegated the government of the palace, and of the Eaſt; but when he marched againſt the tyrant Eugenius, he aſſociated his faithful general to the labours and glories of the civil war; and, in the laſt moments of his life, the dying monarch recommended to Stilicho, the care of his ſons, and of the republic (25). The ambition and the abilities of Stilicho, were not unequal to the important truſt; and he claimed the guardianſhip of the two empires, during the minority of Arcadius and Honorius (26). The firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration, or rather of his reign, diſplayed to the nations the vigour and activity of a ſpirit worthy to command. He paſſed the Alps in the depth of winter; deſcended the ſtream of the Rhine, from the fortreſs of Baſil, to the marſhes of Batavia; reviewed the ſtate of the garriſons; repreſſed the enterprifes

(24) Compare the poem on the firſt conſulſhip (i. 95—115.) with the *Laus Serenæ* (227—237. where it unfortunately breaks off). We may perceive the deep inveterate malice of Rufinus.

(25) ——Quem *fratribus* ipſe
Diſcedens, clypeumque defenſoremque dediſti.

Yet the nomination (iv Conſ. Hon. 432.) was private (iii Conſ. Hon. 142.), cunctos diſcedere . . . jubet; and may therefore be ſuſpected. Zoſimus, and Suidas, apply to Stilicho, and Rufinus, the ſame equal title of Επιτροποι, guardians, or procurators.

(26) The Roman law diſtinguiſhes two ſorts of *minority*, which expired at the age of fourteen, and of twenty-five. The one was ſubject to the *tutor*, or guardian, of the perſon; the other to the *curator*, or truſtee, of the eſtate (Heineccius, Antiquitat. Rom. ad Juriſprudent. pertinent. l. i. tit. xxii, xxiii. p. 218—232.). But theſe legal ideas were never accurately transferred into the conſtitution of an elective monarchy.

enterpriſes of the Germans; and, after eſtabliſhing along the banks a firm and honourable peace, returned with incredible ſpeed to the palace of Milan (27). The perſon and court of Honorius were ſubject to the maſter-general of the Weſt; and the armies and provinces of Europe obeyed, without heſitation, a regular authority, which was exerciſed in the name of their young ſovereign. Two rivals only remained to diſpute the claims, and to provoke the vengeance, of Stilicho. Within the limits of Africa, Gildo, the Moor, maintained a proud and dangerous independence; and the miniſter of Conſtantinople aſſerted his equal reign over the emperor, and the empire, of the Eaſt.

The fall and death of Rufinus, A. D. 495, November 27th.

The impartiality which Stilicho affected, as the common guardian of the royal brothers, engaged him to regulate the equal diviſion of the arms, the jewels, and the magnificent wardrobe and furniture of the deceaſed emperor (28). But the moſt important object of the inheritance conſiſted of the numerous legions, cohorts, and ſquadrons, of Romans, or Barbarians, whom the event of the civil war had united under the ſtandard of Theodoſius. The various multitudes of Europe and Aſia, exaſperated by recent animoſities, were over-awed by the authority of a ſingle man; and the rigid diſcipline of Stilicho protected the lands of the citizen from the rapine of the

(27) See Claudian (i Conſ. Stilich. i. 188—242.); but he muſt allow more than fifteen days for the journey and return, between Milan and Leyden.

(28) I. Conſ. Stilich. ii. 88—94. Not only the robes, and diadems of the deceaſed emperor, but even the helmets, ſword-hilts, belts, cuiraſſes, &c. were enriched with pearls, emeralds, and diamonds.

the licentious ſoldier (29). Anxious however, and impatient, to relieve Italy from the preſence of this formidable hoſt, which could be uſeful only on the frontiers of the empire, he liſtened to the juſt requiſition of the miniſter of Arcadius, declared his intention of reconducting in perſon the troops of the Eaſt; and dexterouſly employed the rumour of a Gothic tumult, to conceal his private deſigns of ambition and revenge (30). The guilty ſoul of Rufinus was alarmed by the approach of a warrior and a rival, whoſe enmity he deſerved; he computed, with increaſing terror, the narrow ſpace of his life and greatneſs; and, as the laſt hope of ſafety, he interpoſed the authority of the emperor Arcadius. Stilicho, who appears to have directed his march along the ſea-coaſt of the Hadriatic, was not far diſtant from the city of Theſſalonica, when he received a peremptory meſſage, to recall the troops of the Eaſt, and to declare that *his* nearer approach would be conſidered, by the Byzantine court, as an act of hoſtility. The prompt and unexpected obedience of the general of the Weſt, convinced the vulgar of his loyalty and moderation; and, as he had already engaged the affection of the Eaſtern troops, he recommended to their zeal the execution of his bloody deſign, which might be accompliſhed in his

(29) ——Tantoque remoto
Principe, mutatas orbis non ſenſit habenas.
This high commendation (i Conſ. Stil. i. 149.) may be juſtified by the fears of the dying emperor (de Bell. Gildon. 292—301.); and the peace and good order which were enjoyed after his death (i Conſ. Stil. i. 150—168.).

(30) Stilicho's march, and the death of Rufinus, are deſcribed by Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 101—453.), Zoſimus (l. v. p. 296, 297.), Sozomen (l. viii. c. 1.), Socrates (l. vi. c. 1.) Philoſtorgius (l. xi. c. 3. with Godefroy, p. 441.), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

his abſence, with leſs danger perhaps, and with leſs reproach. Stilicho left the command of the troops of the Eaſt to Gainas, the Goth, on whoſe fidelity he firmly relied; with an aſſurance, at leaſt, that the hardy Barbarian would never be diverted from his purpoſe by any conſideration of fear or remorſe. The ſoldiers were eaſily perſuaded to puniſh the enemy of Stilicho, and of Rome; and ſuch was the general hatred which Rufinus had excited, that the fatal ſecret, communicated to thouſands, was faithfully preſerved during the long march from Theſſalonica to the gates of Conſtantinople. As ſoon as they had reſolved his death, they condeſcended to flatter his pride; the ambitious præfect was ſeduced to believe, that thoſe powerful auxiliaries might be tempted to place the diadem on his head; and the treaſures which he diſtributed, with a tardy and reluctant hand, were accepted by the indignant multitude, as an inſult, rather than as a gift. At the diſtance of a mile from the capital, in the field of Mars, before the palace of Hebdomon, the troops halted: and the emperor, as well as his miniſter, advanced, according to ancient cuſtom, reſpectfully to ſalute the power which ſupported their throne. As Rufinus paſſed along the ranks, and diſguiſed, with ſtudied courteſy, his innate haughtineſs, the wings inſenſibly wheeled from the right and left, and incloſed the devoted victim within the circle of their arms. Before he could reflect on the danger of his ſituation, Gainas gave the ſignal of death; a daring and forward ſoldier plunged his ſword into the breaſt of the guilty præfect, and Rufinus fell, groaned, and expired, at the feet of the affrighted emperor. If the agonies of a moment could expiate the crimes of a whole life,

life, or if the outrages inflicted on a breathleſs corpſe could be the object of pity, our humanity might perhaps be affected by the horrid circumſtances which accompanied the murder of Rufinus. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace of either ſex, who haſtened in crouds, from every quarter of the city, to trample on the remains of the haughty miniſter, at whoſe frown they had ſo lately trembled. His right hand was cut off, and carried through the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, in cruel mockery, to extort contributions for the avaricious tyrant, whoſe head was publicly expoſed, borne aloft on the point of a long lance (31). According to the ſavage maxims of the Greek republics, his innocent family would have ſhared the puniſhment of his crimes. The wife and daughter of Rufinus were indebted for their ſafety to the influence of religion. *Her* ſanctuary protected them from the raging madneſs of the people; and they were permitted to ſpend the remainder of their lives in the exerciſes of Chriſtian devotion, in the peaceful retirement of Jeruſalem (32).

Diſcord of the two empires. A. D. 396, &c.

The ſervile poet of Stilicho applauds, with ferocious joy, this horrid deed, which, in the execution, perhaps, of juſtice, violated every

(31) The *diſſection* of Rufinus, which Claudian performs with the ſavage coolneſs of an anatomiſt (in Rufin. ii. 405—415), is likewiſe ſpecified by Zoſimus and Jerom (tom. i. p. 26.).

(32) The Pagan Zoſimus mentions their ſanctuary and pilgrimage. The ſiſter of Rufinus, Sylvania, who paſſed her life at Jeruſalem, is famous in monaſtic hiſtory. 1. The ſtudious virgin had diligently, and even repeatedly, peruſed the commentators on the Bible, Origen, Gregory, Baſil, &c. to the amount of five millions of lines. 2. At the age of threeſcore, ſhe could boaſt, that ſhe had never waſhed her hands, face, or any part of her whole body; except the tips of her fingers, to receive the communion. See the Vitæ Patrum, p. 779. 977.

law of nature and ſociety, profaned the majeſty of the prince, and renewed the dangerous examples of military licence. The contemplation of the univerſal order and harmony had ſatisfied Claudian of the exiſtence of the Deity; but the proſperous impunity of vice appeared to contradict his moral attributes; and the fate of Rufinus was the only event which could diſpel the religious doubts of the poet (33). Such an act might vindicate the honour of Providence; but it did not much contribute to the happineſs of the people. In leſs than three months they were informed of the maxims of the new adminiſtration; by a ſingular edict, which eſtabliſhed the excluſive right of the treaſury over the ſpoils of Rufinus; and ſilenced, under heavy penalties, the preſumptuous claims of the ſubjects of the Eaſtern empire, who had been injured by his rapacious tyranny (34). Even Stilicho did not derive from the murder of his rival, the fruit which he had propoſed; and though he gratified his revenge, his ambition was diſappointed. Under the name of a favourite, the weakneſs of Arcadius required a maſter; but he naturally preferred the obſequious arts of the eunuch Eutropius, who had obtained his domeſtic confidence; and the emperor contemplated, with terror and averſion, the ſtern genius of a foreign warrior. Till they were divided by the jealouſy of power, the ſword of Gainas, and the charms of Eudoxia, ſupported the favour of the great chamberlain of the

(33) See the beautiful exordium of his invective againſt Rufinus, which is curiouſly diſcuſſed by the ſceptic Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, RUFIN. Not. E.

(34) See the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 14, 15. The new miniſters attempted, with inconſiſtent avarice, to ſeize the ſpoils of their predeceſſor, and to provide for their own future ſecurity.

the palace: the perfidious Goth, who was appointed maſter-general of the Eaſt, betrayed, without ſcruple, the intereſt of his benefactor; and the ſame troops, who had ſo lately maſſacred the enemy of Stilicho, were engaged to ſupport, againſt him, the independence of the throne of Conſtantinople. The favourites of Arcadius fomented a ſecret and irreconcileable war againſt a formidable hero, who aſpired to govern, and to defend, the two empires of Rome, and the two ſons of Theodoſius. They inceſſantly laboured, by dark and treacherous machinations, to deprive him of the eſteem of the prince, the reſpect of the people, and the friendſhip of the Barbarians. The life of Stilicho was repeatedly attempted by the dagger of hired aſſaſſins; and a decree was obtained, from the ſenate of Conſtantinople, to declare him an enemy of the republic, and to confiſcate his ample poſſeſſions in the provinces of the Eaſt. At a time when the only hope of delaying the ruin of the Roman name, depended on the firm union, and reciprocal aid, of all the nations to whom it had been gradually communicated, the ſubjects of Arcadius and Honorius were inſtructed, by their reſpective maſters, to view each other in a foreign, and even hoſtile, light; to rejoice in their mutual calamities, and to embrace, as their faithful allies, the Barbarians, whom they excited to invade the territories of their countrymen (35). The natives of Italy affected to deſpiſe the ſervile and effeminate Greeks of Byzantium, who preſumed to imitate the dreſs, and to uſurp the dignity, of Roman

(35) See Claudian (i Conſ. Stilich. l. i. 275. 292. 296. l. ii. 3.), and Zoſimus, l. v. p. 302.

man ſenators (36); and the Greeks had not yet forgot the ſentiments of hatred and contempt, which their poliſhed anceſtors had ſo long entertained for the rude inhabitants of the Weſt. The diſtinction of two governments, which ſoon produced the ſeparation of two nations, will juſtify my deſign of ſuſpending the ſeries of the Byzantine hiſtory, to proſecute, without interruption, the diſgraceful, but memorable, reign of Honorius.

Revolt of Gildo in Africa, A. D. 386—398.

The prudent Stilicho, inſtead of perſiſting to force the inclinations of a prince, and people, who rejected his government, wiſely abandoned Arcadius to his unworthy favourites; and his reluctance to involve the two empires in a civil war, diſplayed the moderation of a miniſter, who had ſo often ſignaliſed his military ſpirit and abilities. But if Stilicho had any longer endured the revolt of Africa, he would have betrayed the ſecurity of the capital, and the majeſty of the Weſtern emperor, to the capricious inſolence of a Mooriſh rebel. Gildo (37), the brother of the tyrant Firmas, had preſerved and obtained, as the reward of his apparent fidelity, the immenſe patrimony which was forfeited by treaſon; long and meritorious ſervice, in the armies

(36) Claudian turns the conſulſhip of the eunuch Eutropius into a national reflection (l. ii. 134.).

——— Plaudentem cerne ſenatum
Et Byzantinos proceres, *Graioſque* Quirites:
O patribus plebes, O digni conſule patres.

It is curious to obſerve the firſt ſymptoms of jealouſy and ſchiſm, between old and new Rome, between the Greeks and Latins.

(37) Claudian may have exaggerated the vices of Gildo; but his Mooriſh extraction, his notorious actions, and the complaints of St. Auguſtin, may juſtify the poet's invectives. Baronius (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 398. No. 35—56.) has treated the African rebellion with ſkill and learning.

armies of Rome, raiſed him to the dignity of a military count; the narrow policy of the court of Theodoſius had adopted the miſchievous expedient, of ſupporting a legal government by the intereſt of a powerful family; and the brother of Firmus was inveſted with the command of Africa. His ambition ſoon uſurped the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of the finances, without account, and without controul; and he maintained, during a reign of twelve years, the poſſeſſion of an office, from which it was impoſſible to remove him, without the danger of a civil war. During thoſe twelve years, the provinces of Africa groaned under the dominion of a tyrant, who ſeemed to unite the unfeeling temper of a ſtranger, with the partial reſentments of domeſtic faction. The forms of law were often ſuperſeded by the uſe of poiſon; and if the trembling gueſts, who were invited to the table of Gildo, preſumed to expreſs their fears, the inſolent ſuſpicion ſerved only to excite his fury, and he loudly ſummoned the miniſters of death. Gildo alternately indulged the paſſions of avarice and luſt (38); and if his *days* were terrible to the rich, his *nights* were not leſs dreadful to huſbands and parents. The faireſt of their wives and daughters were proſtituted

(38) Inſtat terribilis vivis, morientibus hæres,
Virginibus raptor, thalamis obſcœnus adulter.
Nulla quies; oritur prædâ ceſſante libido,
Divitibuſque dies, et nox metuenda maritis.
——— Mauris clariſſima quæque
Faſtidita datur. ———

Baronius condemns, ſtill more ſeverely, the licentiouſneſs of Gildo; his wife, his daughter, and his ſiſter, were examples of perfect chaſtity. The adulteries of the African ſoldiers are checked by one of the Imperial laws.

tituted to the embraces of the tyrant; and afterwards abandoned to a ferocious troop of Barbarians and aſſaſſins, the black, or ſwarthy, natives of the deſert; whom Gildo conſidered as the only guardians of his throne. In the civil war between Theodoſius and Eugenius, the count, or rather the ſovereign, of Africa, maintained a haughty and ſuſpicious neutrality; refuſed to aſſiſt either of the contending parties with troops or veſſels, expected the declaration of fortune, and reſerved for the conqueror, the vain profeſſions of his allegiance. Such profeſſions would not have ſatisfied the maſter of the Roman world: but the death of Theodoſius, and the weakneſs and diſcord of his ſons, confirmed the power of the Moor; who condeſcended, as a proof of his moderation, to abſtain from the uſe of the diadem, and to ſupply Rome with the cuſtomary tribute, or rather ſubſidy, of corn. In every diviſion of the empire, the five provinces of Africa were invariably aſſigned to the Weſt; and Gildo had conſented to govern that extenſive country in the name of Honorius; but his knowledge of the character and deſigns of Stilicho, ſoon engaged him to addreſs his homage to a more diſtant and feeble ſovereign. The miniſters of Arcadius embraced the cauſe of a perfidious rebel; and the deluſive hope of adding the numerous cities of Africa to the empire of the Eaſt, tempted them to aſſert a claim, which they were incapable of ſupporting, either by reaſon, or by arms (39).

When

(39) Inque tuam ſortem numeroſas tranſtulit urbes.
Claudian (de Bell. Gildonico, 230—324.) has touched, with political delicacy, the intrigues of the Byzantine court, which are likewiſe mentioned by Zoſimus (l. v. p. 302.).

When Stilicho had given a firm and deciſive anſwer to the pretenſions of the Byzantine court, he ſolemnly accuſed the tyrant of Africa before the tribunal, which had formerly judged the kings and nations of the earth; and the image of the republic was revived, after a long interval, under the reign of Honorius. The emperor tranſmitted an accurate and ample detail of the complaints of the provincials, and the crimes of Gildo, to the Roman ſenate; and the members of that venerable aſſembly were required to pronounce the condemnation of the rebel. Their unanimous ſuffrage declared him the enemy of the republic; and the decrees of the ſenate added a ſacred, and legitimate ſanction, to the Roman arms (40). A people, who ſtill remembered, that their anceſtors had been the maſters of the world, would have applauded, with conſcious pride, the repreſentation of ancient freedom; if they had not long ſince been accuſtomed to prefer the ſolid aſſurance of bread, to the unſubſtantial viſions of liberty and greatneſs. The ſubſiſtence of Rome depended on the harveſts of Africa; and it was evident, that a declaration of war would be the ſignal of famine. The præfect Symmachus, who preſided in the deliberations of the ſenate, admoniſhed the miniſter of his juſt apprehenſion, that as ſoon as the revengeful Moor ſhould prohibit the exportation of corn, the tranquillity, and perhaps the ſafety, of the capital, would be threatened by the hungry rage of a turbulent multitude.

He is condemned by the Roman ſenate, A. D. 397.

(40) Symmachus (l. iv. epiſt. 4.) expreſſes the judicial forms of the ſenate; and Claudian (i Conſ. Stilich. l. i. 345, &c.) ſeems to feel the ſpirit of a Roman.

tude (41). The prudence of Stilicho conceived, and executed, without delay, the moſt effectual meaſure for the relief of the Roman people. A large and ſeaſonable ſupply of corn, collected in the inland provinces of Gaul, was embarked on the rapid ſtream of the Rhone, and tranſported, by an eaſy navigation, from the Rhone to the Tyber. During the whole term of the African war, the granaries of Rome were continually filled, her dignity was vindicated from the humiliating dependence, and the minds of an immenſe people were quieted by the calm confidence of peace and plenty (42).

The African war, A. D. 398.

The cauſe of Rome, and the conduct of the African war, were entruſted by Stilicho, to a general, active and ardent to avenge his private injuries on the head of the tyrant. The ſpirit of diſcord, which prevailed in the houſe of Nabal, had excited a deadly quarrel between two of his ſons, Gildo and Maſcezel (43). The uſurper purſued, with implacable rage, the life of his younger brother, whoſe courage and abilities he feared; and Maſcezel, oppreſſed by ſuperior power, took refuge in the court of Milan: where he ſoon received the cruel intelligence, that his two innocent and helpleſs children had been murdered by their inhuman uncle. The affliction of the father was ſuſpended only by the deſire

(41) Claudian finely diſplays theſe complaints of Symmachus, in a ſpeech of the goddeſs of Rome, before the throne of Jupiter (de Bell. Gildon. 28—128.).

(42) See Claudian (in Eutrop. l. i. 401, &c. i Conſ. Stil. l. i. 306, &c. ii Conſ. Stilich. 91, &c.).

(43) He was of a mature age; ſince he had formerly (A. D. 373.) ſerved againſt his brother Firmus (Ammian. xxix. 5.). Claudian, who underſtood the court of Milan, dwells on the injuries, rather than the merits, of Maſcezel (de Bell. Gild. 389—414.). The Mooriſh war was not worthy of Honorius, or Stilicho, &c.

deſire of revenge. The vigilant Stilicho already prepared to collect the naval and military forces of the Weſtern empire; and he had reſolved, if the tyrant ſhould be able to wage an equal and doubtful war, to march againſt him in perſon. But as Italy required his preſence, and as it might be dangerous to weaken the defence of the frontier, he judged it more adviſeable, that Maſcezel ſhould attempt this arduous adventure, at the head of a choſen body of Gallic veterans, who had lately ſerved under the ſtandard of Eugenius. Theſe troops, who were exhorted to convince the world, that they could ſubvert, as well as defend, the throne of an uſurper, conſiſted of the *Jovian*, the *Herculian*, and the *Auguſtan*, legions; of the *Nervian* auxiliaries; of the ſoldiers, who diſplayed in their banners the ſymbol of a *lion*, and of the troops which were diſtinguiſhed by the auſpicious names of *Fortunate*, and *Invincible*. Yet ſuch was the ſmallneſs of their eſtabliſhments, or the difficulty of recruiting, that theſe *ſeven* bands (44), of high dignity and reputation in the ſervice of Rome, amounted to no more than five thouſand effective men (45). The fleets of gallies and tranſports ſailed in the tempeſtuous weather from the port of Piſa, in Tuſcany, and ſteered their courſe to the little iſland of Capraria; which had borrowed that name from the wild goats, its original

(44) Claudian, Bell. Gild. 415—423. The change of diſcipline allowed him to uſe indifferently the names of *Legio*, *Cohors*, *Maniſtulus*. See the *Notitia Imperii*, S. 38. 40.

(45) Oroſius (l. vii. c. 36. p. 565.) qualifies this account with an expreſſion of doubt (ut aiunt); and it ſcarcely coincides with the δυναμεις αδρας of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 303.). Yet Claudian, after ſome declamation about Cadmus's ſoldiers, frankly owns, that Stilicho ſent a ſmall army; leſt the rebel ſhould fly, ne timeare Alpes (i Conſ. Stilich. l. i. 314, &c.).

ginal inhabitants, whoſe place was now occupied by a new colony of a ſtrange and ſavage appearance. "The whole iſland (ſays an ingenious traveller of thoſe times) is filled, or rather defiled, by men, who fly from the light. They call themſelves *Monks*, or ſolitaries, becauſe they chuſe to live alone, without any witneſſes of their actions. They fear the gifts of fortune, from the apprehenſion of loſing them; and, leſt they ſhould be miſerable, they embrace a life of voluntary wretchedneſs. How abſurd is their choice! how perverſe their underſtanding! to dread the evils, without being able to ſupport the bleſſings, of the human condition. Either this melancholy madneſs is the effect of diſeaſe, or elſe the conſciouſneſs of guilt urges theſe unhappy men to exerciſe on their own bodies the tortures which are inflicted on fugitive ſlaves by the hand of juſtice (46)." Such was the contempt of a profane magiſtrate for the monks of Capraria, who were revered, by the pious Maſcezel, as the choſen ſervants of God (47). Some of them were perſuaded, by his entreaties, to embark on board the fleet; and it is obſerved to the praiſe of the Roman general, that his days and nights were employed in prayer, faſting, and the occupation of ſinging

ing

(46) Claud. Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. i. 439—448. He afterwards (515—526.) mentions a religious madman on the iſle of Gorgona. For ſuch profane remarks, Rutilius, and his accomplices, are ſtyled, by his commentator, Barthius, rabioſi canes diaboli. Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 471.) more calmly obſerves, that the unbelieving poet praiſes where he means to cenſure.

(47) Oroſius, l. vii. c. 36. p. 564. Auguſtin commends two of theſe ſavage ſaints of the iſle of Goats (epiſt. lxxxi. apud Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 317. and Baronius, Annal Eccleſ. A. D. 398. No. 51.).

ing pſalms. The devout leader, who, with ſuch a reinforcement, appeared confident of victory, avoided the dangerous rocks of Corſica, coaſted along the eaſtern ſide of Sardinia, and ſecured his ſhips againſt the violence of the ſouth wind, by caſting anchor in the ſafe and capacious harbour of Cagliari, at the diſtance of one hundred and forty miles from the African ſhores (48).

Defeat and death of Gildo, A. D. 398.

Gildo was prepared to reſiſt the invaſion with all the forces of Africa. By the liberality of his gifts and promiſes, he endeavoured to ſecure the doubtful allegiance of the Roman ſoldiers, whilſt he attracted to his ſtandard the diſtant tribes of Gætulia and Æthiopia. He proudly reviewed an army of ſeventy thouſand men, and boaſted, with the raſh preſumption which is the forerunner of diſgrace, that his numerous cavalry would trample under their horſes feet, the troops of Maſcezel, and involve, in a cloud of burning ſand, the natives of the cold regions of Gaul and Germany (49). But the Moor, who commanded the legions of Honorius, was too well acquainted with the manners of his countrymen, to entertain any ſerious apprehenſion of a naked and diſorderly hoſt of Barbarians; whoſe left arm, inſtead of a ſhield, was protected only by a mantle; who were totally diſarmed as ſoon as they had darted their javelin from their right hand; and whoſe horſes had never been taught to bear the controul, or to

(48) Here the firſt book of the Gildonic war is terminated. The reſt of Claudian's poem has been loſt; and we are ignorant *how*, or *where*, the army made good their landing in Africa.

(49) Oroſius muſt be reſponſible for the account. The preſumption of Gildo and his various train of Barbarians is celebrated by Claudian (i Conſ. Stil. l. i. 345—355.).

to obey the guidance, of the bridle. He fixed his camp of five thouſand veterans in the face of a ſuperior enemy, and, after the delay of three days, gave the ſignal of a general engagement (50). As Maſcezel advanced before the front with the fair offers of peace and pardon, he encountered one of the foremoſt ſtandard-bearers of the Africans, and, on his refuſal to yield, ſtruck him on the arm with his ſword. The arm, and the ſtandard, ſunk under the weight of the blow; and the imaginary act of ſubmiſſion was haſtily repeated by all the ſtandards of the line. At this ſignal, the diſaffected cohorts proclaimed the name of their lawful ſovereign; the Barbarians, aſtoniſhed by the defection of their Roman allies, diſperſed, according to their cuſtom, in tumultuary flight; and Maſcezel obtained the honours of an eaſy, and almoſt bloodleſs, victory (51). The tyrant eſcaped from the field of battle to the ſea-ſhore; and threw himſelf into a ſmall veſſel, with the hope of reaching in ſafety ſome friendly port of the empire of the Eaſt: but the obſtinacy of the wind drove him back into the harbour of Tabraca (52), which had acknowledged, with the reſt of the province, the dominion of Honorius, and the authority of his lieutenant. The inhabitants, as a proof of their repentance

(50) St. Ambroſe, who had been dead about a year, revealed, in a viſion, the time and place of the victory. Maſcezel afterwards related his dream to Paulinus, the original biographer of the ſaint, from whom it might eaſily paſs to Oroſius.

(51) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 303.) ſuppoſes an obſtinate combat; but the narrative of Oroſius appears to conceal a real fact, under the diſguiſe of a miracle.

(52) Tabraca lay between the two Hippos (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. ii. p. 112.; d'Anville, tom. iii. p. 84.). Oroſius has diſtinctly named the field of battle, but our ignorance cannot define the preciſe ſituation.

repentance and loyalty, ſeized and confined the perſon of Gildo in a dungeon; and his own deſpair ſaved him from the intolerable torture of ſupporting the preſence of an injured, and victorious, brother (53). The captives, and the ſpoils, of Africa, were laid at the feet of the emperor; but Stilicho, whoſe moderation appeared more conſpicuous, and more ſincere, in the midſt of proſperity, ſtill affected to conſult the laws of the republic; and referred to the ſenate and people of Rome, the judgment of the moſt illuſtrious criminals (54). Their trial was public and ſolemn; but the judges, in the exerciſe of this obſolete and precarious juriſdiction, were impatient to puniſh the African magiſtrates, who had intercepted the ſubſiſtence of the Roman people. The rich and guilty province was oppreſſed by the Imperial miniſters, who had a viſible intereſt to multiply the number of the accomplices of Gildo; and if an edict of Honorius ſeems to check the malicious induſtry of informers, a ſubſequent edict, at the diſtance of ten years, continues and renews the proſecution of the offences which had been committed in the time of the general rebellion (55). The adherents of the tyrant who eſcaped

(53) The death of Gildo is expreſſed by Claudian (i Conſ. Stil. l. 357.), and his beſt interpreters, Zoſimus and Oroſius.

(54) Claudian (ii Conſ. Stilich. 99—119.), deſcribes their trial (tremuit quos Africa nuper, cernunt roſtra reos), and applauds the reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution. It is here that he introduces the famous ſentence, ſo familiar to the friends of deſpotiſm:

——— Nunquam libertas gratior exſtat
Quam ſub rege pio. ———

But the freedom, which depends on royal piety, ſcarcely deſerves that appellation.

(55) See the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxix. leg. 3. tit. xl. leg. 19.

eſcaped the firſt fury of the ſoldiers, and the judges, might derive ſome conſolation from the tragic fate of his brother, who could never obtain his pardon for the extraordinary ſervices which he had performed. After he had finiſhed an important war in the ſpace of a ſingle winter, Maſcezel was received at the court of Milan with loud applauſe, affected gratitude, and ſecret jealouſy (56); and his death, which perhaps, was the effect of accident, has been conſidered as the crime of Stilicho. In the paſſage of a bridge, the Mooriſh prince, who accompanied the maſter-general of the Weſt, was ſuddenly thrown from his horſe into the river; the officious haſte of the attendants was reſtrained by a cruel and perfidious ſmile, which they obſerved on the countenance of Stilicho; and while they delayed the neceſſary aſſiſtance, the unfortunate Maſcezel was irrecoverably drowned (57).

Marriage, and character of Honorius, A. D. 398.

The joy of the African triumph was happily connected with the nuptials of the emperor Honorius, and of his couſin Maria, the daughter of Stilicho: and this equal and honourable alliance ſeemed to inveſt the powerful miniſter with the authority of a parent over his ſubmiſſive pupil. The muſe of Claudian was not ſilent on this propitious day (58): he ſung, in various and lively ſtrains,

(56) Stilicho, who claimed an equal ſhare in all the victories of Theodoſius and his ſon, particularly aſſerts, that Africa was recovered by the wiſdom of *his* counſels (ſee an Inſcription produced by Baronius.).

(57) I have ſoftened the narrative of Zoſimus, which, in its crude ſimplicity, is almoſt incredible (l. v. p. 303.). Oroſius damns the victorious general (p. 538.), for violating the right of ſanctuary.

(58) Claudian, as the poet laureat, compoſed a ſerious and elaborate epithalamium of 340 lines; beſides ſome gay Feſcennines which

ſtrains, the happineſs of the royal pair; and the glory of the hero, who confirmed their union, and ſupported their throne. The ancient fables of Greece, which had almoſt ceaſed to be the object of religious faith, were ſaved from oblivion by the genius of poetry. The picture of the Cyprian grove, the ſeat of harmony and love; the triumphant progreſs of Venus over her native ſeas, and the mild influence which her preſence diffuſed in the palace of Milan, expreſs to every age the natural ſentiments of the heart, in the juſt and pleaſing language of allegorical fiction. But the amorous impatience, which Claudian attributes to the young prince(59), muſt excite the ſmiles of the court; and his beauteous ſpouſe (if ſhe deſerved the praiſe of beauty) had not much to fear or to hope from the paſſions of her lover. Honorius was only in the fourteenth year of his age; Serena, the mother of his bride, deferred, by art or perſuaſion, the conſummation of the royal nuptials; Maria died a virgin, after ſhe had been ten years a wife; and the chaſtity of the emperor was ſecured by the coldneſs, or, perhaps, the debility, of his conſtitution (60). His ſubjects, who attentively ſtudied the character of their young ſovereign, diſcovered that Honorius was

which were ſung, in a more lſcentious tone, on the wedding-night.

(59) —— —— —— Calet obvius ire
Jam principes, tardumque cupit diſcedere ſolem.
Nobilis haud aliter *ſonipes*.

(de Nuptiis Honor. et Mariæ, 287.) and more freely in the Feſcennines (112—126.)

Dices, *O quoties*, hoc mihi dulcius
Quam flavos *decies* vincere Sarmatas
- - - - - - -
Tum victor madido profilias toro
Nocturni referens vulnera prœlii.

(60) See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 333.

was without paſſions, and conſequently without talents; and that his feeble and languid diſpoſition was alike incapable of diſcharging the duties of his rank, or of enjoying the pleaſures of his age. In his early youth he made ſome progreſs in the exerciſes of riding and drawing the bow: but he ſoon relinquiſhed theſe fatiguing occupations, and the amuſement of feeding poultry became the ſerious and daily care of the monarch of the Weſt (61), who reſigned the reins of empire to the firm and ſkilful hand of his guardian Stilicho. The experience of hiſtory will countenance the ſuſpicion, that a prince who was born in the purple, received a worſe education than the meaneſt peaſant of his dominions; and that the ambitious miniſter ſuffered him to attain the age of manhood, without attempting to excite his courage, or to enlighten his underſtanding (62). The predeceſſors of Honorius were accuſtomed to animate, by their example, or at leaſt by their preſence, the valour of the legions; and the dates of their laws atteſt the perpetual activity of their motions through the provinces of the Roman world. But the ſon of Theodoſious paſſed the ſlumber of his life, a captive in his palace, a ſtranger in his country, and the patient, almoſt the indifferent, ſpectator of the ruin of the Weſtern empire, which was repeatedly attacked, and finally ſubverted, by the arms of

(61) Procopius de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. 2. I have borrowed the general practice of Honorius, without adopting the ſingular, and, indeed, improbable tale, which is related by the Greek hiſtorian.

(62) The leſſons of Theodoſius, or rather Claudian (iv Conſ. Honor. 214—418.), might compoſe a fine inſtitution for the future prince of a great and free nation. It was far above Honorius, and his degenerate ſubjects.

of the Barbarians. In the eventful hiſtory of a reign of twenty eight years, it will ſeldom be neceſſary to mention the name of the emperor Honorius.

CHAP. XXX.

Revolt of the Goths.—They plunder Greece.—Two great Invaſions of Italy by Alaric and Radagaiſus.—They are repulſed by Stilicho.—The Germans over-run Gaul.—Uſurpation of Conſtantine in the Weſt.—Diſgrace and death of Stilicho.

Revolt of the Goths, A. D. 395.

IF the ſubjects of Rome could be ignorant of their obligations to the great Theodoſius, they were too ſoon convinced, how painfully the ſpirit and abilities of their deceaſed emperor had ſupported the frail and mouldering edifice of the republic. He died in the month of January; and before the end of the winter of the ſame year, the Gothic nation was in arms (1). The Barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent ſtandard; and boldly avowed the hoſtile deſigns, which they had long cheriſhed in their ferocious minds. Their countrymen, who had been condemned, by the conditions of the laſt treaty, to a life of tranquillity and labour, deſerted their farms at the firſt ſound of the trumpet; and eagerly reſumed the weapons which they had reluctantly laid down. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open; the ſavage warriors of Scythia iſſued from their foreſts; and the uncommon ſeverity of the winter allowed the poet to remark, "that they rolled their pon-
"derous waggons over the broad and icy back
"o

(1) The revolt of the Goths, and the blockade of Conſtantinople, are diſtinctly mentioned by Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 7–100.), Zoſimus (l. v. p. 292.), and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis c. 29.).

"of the indignant river (2)." The unhappy natives of the provinces to the South of the Danube, ſubmitted to the calamities, which, in the courſe of twenty years, were almoſt grown familiar to their imagination; and the various troops of Barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic name, were irregularly ſpread from the woody ſhores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Conſtantinople (3). The interruption, or at leaſt the diminution, of the ſubſidy, which the Goths had received from the prudent liberality of Theodoſius was the ſpecious pretence of their revolt: the affront was embittered by their contempt for the unwarlike ſons of Theodoſius; and their reſentment was inflamed by the weakneſs, or treachery, of the miniſter of Arcadius. The frequent viſits of Rufinus to the camp of the Barbarians, whoſe arms and apparel he affected to imitate, were conſidered as a ſufficient evidence of his guilty correſpondence: and the public enemy, from a motive either of gratitude or of policy, was attentive, amidſt the general devaſtation, to ſpare the private eſtates of the unpopular præfect. The Goths, inſtead of being impelled by the blind and headſtrong paſſions of their chiefs, were now directed by the bold and artful genius of Alaric. That renowned leader was

(2) ——— Alii per terga ferocis
Danubii ſolidata ruunt; expertaque remis
Frangunt ſtagna rotis.
Claudian and Ovid often amuſe their fancy by interchanging the metaphors and properties of *liquid* water, and *ſolid* ice. Much falſe wit has been expended in this eaſy exerciſe.

(3) Jerom, tom. i. p. 26. He endeavours to comfort his friend Heliodorus, biſhop of Altinum, for the loſs of his nephew Nepotian, by a curious recapitulation of all the public and private misfortunes of the times. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. p. 200, &c.

deſcended from the noble race of the Balti (4); which yielded only to the royal dignity of the Amali: he had ſolicited the command of the Roman armies; and the Imperial court provoked him to demonſtrate the folly of their refuſal, and the importance of their loſs. Whatever hopes might be entertained of the conqueſt of Conſtantinople, the judicious general ſoon abandoned an impracticable enterpriſe. In the midſt of a divided court, and a diſcontented people, the emperor Arcadius was terrified by the aſpect of the Gothic arms: but the want of wiſdom and valour was ſupplied by the ſtrength of the city; and the fortifications, both of the ſea and land, might ſecurely brave the impotent and random darts of the Barbarians. Alaric diſdained to trample any longer on the proſtrate and ruined countries of Thrace and Dacia, and he reſolved to ſeek a plentiful harveſt of fame and riches in a province which had hitherto eſcaped the ravages of war (5).

Alaric marches into Greece, A. D. 396.

The character of the civil and military officers, on whom Rufinus had devolved the government of Greece, confirmed the public ſuſpicion, that he had betrayed the ancient ſeat of freedom and learning to the Gothic invader. The proconſul Antiochus was the unworthy ſon of a reſpectable

(4) *Baltha*, or *bold*: origo mirifica, ſays Jornandes (c. 29.). This illuſtrious race long continued to flouriſh in France, in the Gothic province of Septimania, or Languedoc; under the corrupted appellation of *Baux*: and a branch of that family afterwards ſettled in the kingdom of Naples (Grotius in Prolegom. ad Hiſt. Gothic. p. 53.). The lords of Baux, near Arles, and of ſeventy-nine ſubordinate places, were independent of the counts of Provence (Longuerue, Deſcription de la France, tom. i. p. 357.).

(5) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 293—295.) is our beſt guide for the conqueſt of Greece: but the hints and alluſion of Claudian are ſo many rays of hiſtoric light.

able father; and Gerontius, who commanded the provincial troops, was much better qualified to execute the oppreſſive orders of a tyrant, than to defend, with courage and ability, a country moſt remarkably fortified by the hand of nature. Alaric had traverſed, without reſiſtance, the plains of Macedonia and Theſſaly, as far as the foot of Mount Oeta, a ſteep and woody range of hills, almoſt impervious to his cavalry. They ſtretched from Eaſt to Weſt, to the edge of the ſea-ſhore; and left, between the precipice and the Malian Gulf, an interval of three hundred feet, which, in ſome places, was contracted to a road capable of admitting only a ſingle carriage (6). In this narrow paſs of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas, and the three hundred Spartans had glorioufly devoted their lives, the Goths might have been ſtopped, or deſtroyed, by a ſkilful general; and perhaps the view of that ſacred ſpot might have kindled ſome ſparks of military ardour in the breaſts of the degenerate Greeks. The troops which had been poſted to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, retired, as they were directed, without attempting to diſturb the ſecure and rapid paſſage of the Alaric (7); and the fertile fields of Phocis, and Bæotia, were inſtantly covered with a deluge of Barbarians: who maſſacred the males of an age to bear arms, and drove away the beautiful females, with the ſpoil, and cattle, of the flaming villages. The travellers,

(6) Compare Herodotus (l. vii. c. 176.) and Livy (xxxvi. 15.). The narrow entrance of Greece was probably enlarged by each ſucceſſive raviſher.

(7) He paſſed, ſays Eunapius (in Vit. Philoſoph. p. 93. edit. Commelin, 1596.), through the ſtreights, δια των πυλων (of Thermopylæ) παρηλθεν, ωσπερ δια ϛαδιου, και ιπποκροτου πεδιου τειχων.

lers, who viſited Greece ſeveral years afterwards, could eaſily diſcover the deep and bloody traces of the march of the Goths; and Thebes was leſs indebted for her preſervation to the ſtrength of her ſeven gates, than to the eager haſte of Alaric, who advanced to occupy the city of Athens, and the important harbour of the Piræus. The ſame impatience urged him to prevent the delay and danger of a ſiege, by the offer of a capitulation; and as ſoon as the Athenians heard the voice of the Gothic herald, they were eaſily perſuaded to deliver the greateſt part of their wealth, as the ranſom of the city of Minerva, and its inhabitants. The treaty was ratified by ſolemn oaths, and obſerved with mutual fidelity. The Gothic prince, with a ſmall and ſelect train, was admitted within the walls; he indulged himſelf in the refreſhment of the bath, accepted a ſplendid banquet which was provided by the magiſtrate, and affected to ſhew that he was not ignorant of the manners of civiliſed nations (8). But the whole territory of Attica, from the promontory of Sunium to the town of Megara, was blaſted by his baleful preſence; and, if we may uſe the compariſon of a contemporary philoſopher, Athens itſelf reſembled the bleeding and empty ſkin of a ſlaughtered victim. The diſtance between Megara and Corinth could not much exceed thirty miles; but the *bad road*, an expreſſive name,

(8) In obedience to Jerom, and Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 191.), I have mixed ſome darker colours in the mild repreſentation of Zoſimus, who wiſhed to ſoften the calamities of Athens.

Nec fera Cecropias traxiſſent vincula matres.

Syneſius (Epiſt. clvi. p. 272. edit. Petav.), obſerves, that Athens, whoſe ſufferings he imputes to the proconſul's avarice, was at that time leſs famous for her ſchools of philoſophy than for her trade of honey.

name, which it ſtill bears among the Greeks, was, or might eaſily have been made, impaſſable for the march of an enemy. The thick and gloomy woods of Mount Cithæron covered the inland country; the Scironian rocks approached the water's edge, and hung over the narrow and winding path, which was confined above ſix miles along the ſea-ſhore (9). The paſſage of thoſe rocks, ſo infamous in every age, was terminated by the iſthmus of Corinth; and a ſmall body of firm and intrepid ſoldiers might have ſucceſsfully defended a temporary intrenchment of five or ſix miles from the Ionian to the Ægean ſea. The confidence of the cities of Peloponneſus, in their natural rampart, had tempted them to neglect the care of their antique walls; and the avarice of the Roman governors had exhauſted and betrayed the unhappy province (10). Corinth, Argos, Sparta, yielded without reſiſtance to the arms of the Goths; and the moſt fortunate of the inhabitants were ſaved, by death, from beholding the ſlavery of their families, and the conflagration of their cities (11). The vaſes and ſtatues

(9) —— Vallata mari Scironia rupes,
Et duo continuo connectens æquora muro
Iſthmos. ——
Claudian de Bell. Getico, 188.
The Scironian rocks are deſcribed by Pauſanias (l. i. c. 44. p. 107. edit. Kuhn) and our modern travellers, Wheeler (p. 436.) and Chandler (p. 298.). Hadrian made the road paſſable for two carriages.

(10) Claudian (in Rufin. l. ii. 186. and de Bello Getico, 611, &c.) vaguely, though forcibly, delineates the ſcene of rapine and deſtruction.

(11) Τρις μακαρες Δαναοι και τετρακις, &c. Theſe generous lines of Homer (Odyſſ. l. v. 306.) were tranſcribed by one of the captive youths of Corinth: and the tears of Mummius may prove that the rude conqueror, though he was ignorant of the value of an original.

ſtatues were diſtributed among the Barbarians, with more regard to the value of the materials, than to the elegance of the workmanſhip; the female captives ſubmitted to the laws of war; the enjoyment of beauty was the reward of valour; and the Greeks could not reaſonably complain of an abuſe, which was juſtified by the example of the heroic times (12). The deſcendants of that extraordinary people, who had conſidered valour and diſcipline as the walls of Sparta, no longer remembered the generous reply of their anceſtors to an invader more formidable than Alaric. "If thou art a "god, thou wilt not hurt thoſe who have ne-"ver injured thee; if thou art a man, ad-"vance;—and thou wilt find men equal to "thyſelf (13)." From Thermopylæ to Sparta, the leader of the Goths purſued his victorious march without encountering any mortal antagoniſts; but one of the advocates of expiring Paganiſm has confidently aſſerted, that the walls of Athens were guarded by the goddeſs Minerva, with her formidable Ægis, and the angry phantom of Achilles (14); and that the conqueror was diſmayed by the preſence of the hoſtile deities

original picture, poſſeſſed the pureſt ſource of good taſte, a benevolent heart (Plutarch, Sympoſiac. l. ix. tom. ii. p. 737. edit. Wechel.).

(12) Homer perpetually deſcribes the exemplary patience of theſe female captives, who gave their charms, and even their hearts, to the murderers of their fathers, brothers, &c. Such a paſſion (of Eriphile for Achilles) is touched with admirable delicacy by Racine.

(13) Plutarch (in Pyrrho, tom. ii. p. 471. edit. Brian) gives the genuine anſwer in the Laconic dialect. Pyrrhus attacked Sparta with 25,000 foot, 2000 horſe, and 24 elephants: and the defence of that open town is a fine comment on the laws of Lycurgus, even in the laſt ſtage of decay.

(14) Such, perhaps, as Homer (Iliad, xx. 164.) has ſo nobly painted him.

deities of Greece. In an age of miracles, it would perhaps be unjuſt to diſpute the claim of the hiſtorian Zoſimus to the common benefit; yet it cannot be diſſembled, that the mind of Alaric was ill prepared to receive, either in ſleeping or waking viſions, the impreſſions of Greek ſuperſtition. The ſongs of Homer, and the fame of Achilles, had probably never reached the ear of the illiterate *Barbarian*; and the *Chriſtian* faith, which he had devoutly embraced, taught him to deſpiſe the imaginary deities of Rome and Athens. The invaſion of the Goths, inſtead of vindicating the honour, contributed, at leaſt accidentally, to extirpate the laſt remains of Paganiſm; and the myſteries of Ceres, which had ſubſiſted eighteen hundred years, did not ſurvive the deſtruction of Eleuſis, and the calamities of Greece (15).

He is attacked by Stilicho, A. D. 397.

The laſt hope of a people who could no longer depend on their arms, their gods, or their ſovereign, was placed in the powerful aſſiſtance of the general of the Weſt; and Stilicho, who had not been permitted to repulſe, advanced to chaſtiſe, the invaders of Greece (16). A numerous fleet was equipped in the ports of Italy; and the troops, after a ſhort and proſperous navigation over the Ionian ſea, were ſafely diſembarked on the iſthmus, near the ruins of Corinth. The woody and mountainous country of Arcadia, the fabulous reſidence of Pan and the

(15) Eunapius (in Vit. Philoſoph. p. 90--93.) intimates, that a troop of Monks betrayed Greece, and followed the Gothic camp.

(16) For Stilicho's Greek war, compare the honeſt narrative of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 295, 296.), with the curious circumſtantial flattery of Claudian (i Conſ. Stilich. l. i. 172—186. iv Conſ. Hon. 459—487.). As the event was not glorious, it is artfully thrown into the ſhade.

the Dryads, became the ſcene of a long and doubtful conflict between two generals not unworthy of each other. The ſkill and perſeverance of the Roman at length prevailed: and the Goths, after ſuſtaining a conſiderable loſs from diſeaſe and deſertion, gradually retreated to the lofty mountain of Pholoe, near the ſources of the Peneus, and on the frontiers of Elis; a ſacred country, which had formerly been exempted from the calamities of war (17). The camp of the Barbarians was immediately beſieged: the waters of the river (18) were diverted into another channel; and while they laboured under the intolerable preſſure of thirſt and hunger, a ſtrong line of circumvallation was formed to prevent their eſcape. After theſe precautions, Stilicho, too confident of victory, retired to enjoy his triumph, in the theatrical games, and laſcivious dances, of the Greeks; his ſoldiers, deſerting their ſtandards, ſpread themſelves over the country of their allies, which they ſtripped of all that had been ſaved from the rapacious hands of the enemy. Alaric appears to have ſeized the favourable moment to

(17) The troops who marched through Elis delivered up their arms. This ſecurity enriched the Eleans, who were lovers of a rural life. Riches begat pride; they diſdained their privilege, and they ſuffered. Polybius adviſes them to retire once more within their magic circle. See a learned and judicious diſcourſe on the Olympic games, which Mr. Weſt has prefixed to his tranſlation of Pindar.

(18) Claudian (in iv Conſ. Hon. 480.) alludes to the fact, without naming the river: perhaps the Alpheus (i Conſ. Stil. l. i. 185.).

—— Et Alpheus Geticis anguſtus acervis
Tardior ad Siculos etiamnum pergit amores.

Yet I ſhould prefer the Peneus, a ſhallow ſtream in a wide and deep bed, which runs through Elis, and falls into the ſea below Cyllene. It had been joined with the Alpheus, to cleanſe the Augean ſtable (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 760. Chandler's Travels, p. 286.).

o execute one of thoſe hardy enterpriſes, in hich the abilities of a general are diſplayed ith more genuine luſtre, than in the tumult f a day of battle. To extricate himſelf from he priſon of Peloponneſus, it was neceſſary that e ſhould pierce the intrenchments which ſur- ounded his camp; that he ſhould perform a ifficult and dangerous march of thirty miles, s far as the Gulf of Corinth; and that he hould tranſport his troops, his captives, and is ſpoil, over an arm of the ſea, which, in the arrow interval between Rhium and the oppo- te ſhore, is at leaſt half a mile in breadth (19). The operations of Alaric muſt have been ſecret, rudent and rapid; ſince the Roman general as confounded by the intelligence, that the Goths, who had eluded his efforts, were in ull poſſeſſion of the important province of Epirus. This unfortunate delay allowed Alaric ufficient time to conclude the treaty, which e ſecretly negociated, with the miniſters of Conſtantinople. The apprehenſion of a civil ar compelled Stilicho to retire, at the haughty mandate of his rivals, from the dominions of Arcadius; and he reſpected, in the enemy of Rome, the honourable character of the ally and ervant of the emperor of the Eaſt.

Eſcapes to Epirus.

A Grecian philoſopher (20), who viſited Con- tantinople ſoon after the death of Theodoſius, pub-

Alaric is declared maſter-ge- ral of the

(19) Strabo, l. viii. p. 517. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. iv. 3. Whee- r, p. 308. Chandler, p. 275. They meaſured, from different oints, the diſtance between the two lands.

(20) Syneſius paſſed three years (A. D. 397—400.) at Conſtan- inople, as deputy from Cyrene to the emperor Arcadius. He reſented him with a crown of gold, and pronounced before him he inſtructive oration de Regno (p. 1—32. edit. Petav. Paris 612.). The Philoſopher was made biſhop of Ptolemais, A. D. 10, and died about 430. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. . 499. 554. 683—685.

Eaſtern Illyricum, A. D. 398.

publiſhed his liberal opinions concerning the duties of kings, and the ſtate of the Roman republic. Syneſius obſerves, and deplores the fatal abuſe, which the imprudent bounty of the late emperor had introduced into the military ſervice. The citizens, and ſubjects, had purchaſed an exemption from the indiſpenſable duty of defending their country; which was ſupported by the arms of Barbarian mercenaries. The fugitives of Scythia were permitted to diſgrace the illuſtrious dignities of the empire; their ferocious youth, who diſdained the ſalutary reſtraint of laws, were more anxious to acquire the riches, than to imitate the arts, of a people, the object of their contempt and hatred; and the power of the Goths was the ſtone of Tantalus, perpetually ſuſpended over the peace and ſafety of the devoted ſtate. The meaſures, which Syneſius recommends, are the dictates of a bold and generous patriot. He exhorts the emperor to revive the courage of his ſubjects, by the example of manly virtue; to baniſh luxury from the court, and from the camp; to ſubſtitute, in the place of the Barbarian mercenaries, an army of men, intereſted in the defence of their laws and of their property; to force, in ſuch a moment of public danger, the mechanic from his ſhop, and the philoſopher from his ſchool; to rouſe the indolent citizen from his dream of pleaſure, and to arm, for the protection of agriculture, the hands of the laborious huſbandman. At the head of ſuch troops, who might deſerve the name, and would diſplay the ſpirit, of Romans, he animates the ſon of Theodoſius to encounter a race of Barbarians, who were deſtitute of any real courage; and never to lay down his arms, till

till he had chaſed them far away into the ſolitudes of Scythia; or had reduced them to the ſtate of ignominious ſervitude, which the Lacedæmonians formerly impoſed on the captive Helots (21). The court of Arcadius indulged the zeal, applauded the eloquence, and neglected the advice, of Syneſius. Perhaps the philoſopher, who addreſſes the emperor of the Eaſt, in the language of reaſon and virtue, which he might have uſed to a Spartan king, had not condeſcended to form a practicable ſcheme, conſiſtent with the temper, and circumſtances, of a degenerate age. Perhaps the pride of the miniſters, whoſe buſineſs was ſeldom interrupted by reflection, might reject, as wild and viſionary, every propoſal, which exceeded the meaſure of their capacity, and deviated from the forms and precedents of office. While the oration of Syneſius, and the downfal of the Barbarians, were the topics of popular converſation, an edict was publiſhed at Conſtantinople, which declared the promotion of Alaric to the rank of maſter-general of the Eaſtern Illyricum. The Roman provincials, and the allies, who had reſpected the faith of treaties, were juſtly indignant, that the ruin of Greece and Epirus ſhould be ſo liberally rewarded. The Gothic conqueror was received as a lawful magiſtrate, in the cities which he had ſo lately beſieged. The fathers, whoſe ſons he had maſſacred, the huſbands, whoſe wives he had violated, were ſubject to his authority: and the ſucceſs of his rebellion encouraged the ambition of every leader of the foreign mercenaries. The uſe to which Alaric applied

(21) Syneſius de Regno, p. 21—26,

applied his new command, diſtinguiſhes the firm and judicious character of his policy. He iſſued his orders to the four magazines and manufactures of offenſive and defenſive arms, Margus, Ratiaria, Naiſſus, and Theſſalonica, to provide his troops with an extraordinary ſupply of ſhields, helmets, ſwords, and ſpears; the unhappy provincials were compelled to forge the inſtruments of their own deſtruction; and the Barbarians removed the only defect which had ſometimes diſappointed the efforts of their courage (22). The birth of Alaric, the glory of his paſt exploits, and the confidence in his future deſigns, inſenſibly united the body of the nation under his victorious ſtandard; and, with the unanimous conſent of the Barbarian chieftains, the maſter-general of Illyricum was elevated, according to ancient cuſtom, on a ſhield, and ſolemnly proclaimed king of the Viſigoths (23). Armed with this double power, ſeated on the verge of the two empires, he alternately ſold his deceitful promiſes to the courts of Arcadius and Honorius (24); till he declared and executed his reſolution of invading the dominions of the Weſt. The provinces

and king of the Viſigoths.

(22) ——— qui fœdera rumpit
Ditatur: qui ſervat, eget: vaſtator Achivæ
Gentis, et Epirum nuper populatus inultam
Præſidet Illyrico: jam, quos obſedit, amicos
Ingreditur muros; illis reſponſa daturus
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natoſque peremit.

Claudian in Eutrop. l. ii. 212. Alaric applauds his own policy (de Bell. Getic. 533—543.), in the uſe of which he had made of this Illyrian juriſdiction.

(23) Jornandes, c. 29. p. 651. The Gothic hiſtorian adds, with unuſual ſpirit, Cum ſuis deliberans ſuaſit ſuo labore quærere regna, quam alienis per otium ſubjacere.

(24) ——— Diſcors odiiſque anceps civilibus Orbis
Non ſua vis tutata diu, dum fœdera fallax
Ludit, et alternæ perjuria venditat aulæ.

Claudian de Bell. Get. 565.

vinces of Europe which belonged to the Eaſtern emperor, were already exhauſted; thoſe of Aſia were inacceſſible; and the ſtrength of Conſtantinople had reſiſted his attack. But he was tempted by the fame, the beauty, the wealth of Italy, which he had twice viſited; and he ſecretly aſpired to plant the Gothic ſtandard on the walls of Rome, and to enrich his army with the accumulated ſpoils of three hundred triumphs (25).

He invades Italy. A.D. 400—403.

The ſcarcity of facts (26), and the uncertainty of dates (27), oppoſe our attempts to deſcribe the circumſtances of the firſt invaſion of Italy by the arms of Alaric. His march, perhaps from Theſſalonica, through the warlike and hoſtile country of Pannonia, as far as the foot of the Julian Alps; his paſſage of thoſe mountains, which were ſtrongly guarded by troops and intrenchments; the ſiege of Aquileia, and the conqueſt of the provinces of Iſtria and Venetia, appear to have employed a conſiderable time. Unleſs his operations were extremely cautious and ſlow,

(25) Alpibus Italiæ ruptis penetrabis ad *Urbem*.

This authentic prediction was announced by Alaric, or at leaſt by Claudian (de Bell. Getico, 547.), ſeven years before the event. But as it was not accompliſhed within the term which had been raſhly fixed, the interpreters eſcaped through an ambiguous meaning.

(26) Our beſt materials are 970 verſes of Claudian, in the poem on the Getic war, and the beginning of that which celebrates the ſixth conſulſhip of Honorius. Zoſimus is totally ſilent; and we are reduced to ſuch ſcraps, or rather crumbs, as we can pick from Oroſius and the Chronicles.

(27) Notwithſtanding the groſs errors of Jornandes, who confounds the Italian wars of Alaric (c. 29.), his date of the conſulſhip of Stilicho and Aurelian (A. D. 400.) is firm and reſpectable. It is certain, from Claudian (Tillemont Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 804.), that the battle of Pollentia was fought A. D. 403; but we cannot eaſily fill the interval.

ſlow, the length of the interval would ſuggeſt a probable ſuſpicion, that the Gothic king retreated towards the banks of the Danube; and reinforced his army with freſh ſwarms of Barbarians, before he again attempted to penetrate into the heart of Italy. Since the public and important events eſcape the diligence of the hiſtorian, he may amuſe himſelf with contemplating, for a moment, the influence of the arms of Alaric on the fortunes of two obſcure individuals, a preſbyter of Aquileia, and an huſbandman of Verona. The learned Rufinus, who was ſummoned by his enemies to appear before a Roman ſynod (28), wiſely preferred the dangers of a beſieged city; and the Barbarians, who furiouſly ſhook the walls of Aquileia, might ſave him from the cruel ſentence of another heretic, who, at the requeſt of the ſame biſhops, was ſeverely whipped, and condemned to perpetual exile on a deſert iſland (29). The *old man* (30), who had paſſed his ſimple and innocent life in the neighbourhood of Verona, was a ſtranger to the quarrels both of kings and biſhops; *his* pleaſures, his deſires, his knowledge, were confined within the little circle of his paternal farm; and a ſtaff ſupported his aged ſteps, on the ſame ground where he had ſported

(28) Tantum Romanæ urbis judicium fugis, ut magis obſidionem barbaricam, quam *pacatæ* urbis judicium velis ſuſtinere. Jerom. tom. ii. p. 239. Rufinus underſtood his own danger: the *peaceful* city was inflamed by the beldam Marcella, and the reſt of Jerom's faction.

(29) Jovinian, the enemy of faſts and of celibacy, who was perſecuted, and inſulted by the furious Jerom (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv. p. 104, &c.). See the original edict of baniſhment in the Theodoſian Code, l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 43.

(30) This epigram (de Sene Veronenſi qui ſuburbium nuſquam egreſſus eſt), is one of the earlieſt and moſt pleaſing compoſitions of Claudian. Cowley's imitation (Hurd's edition, vol. ii. p. 241.) has ſome natural and happy ſtrokes: but it is much inferior to the original portrait, which is evidently drawn from the life.

ſported in his infancy. Yet even this humble and ruſtic felicity (which Claudian deſcribes with ſo much truth and feeling), was ſtill expoſed to the undiſtinguiſhing rage of war. His trees, his old *contemporary* trees (31), muſt blaze in the conflagration of the whole country; a detachment of Gothic cavalry might ſweep away his cottage and his family; and the power of Alaric could deſtroy this happineſs, which he was not able, either to taſte, or to beſtow. "Fame," ſays the poet, "encircling with terror her gloomy "wings, proclaimed the march of the Barbarian "army, and filled Italy with conſternation:" the apprehenſions of each individual were increaſed in juſt proportion to the meaſure of his fortune: and the moſt timid, who had already embarked their valuable effects, meditated their eſcape to the iſland of Sicily, or the African coaſt. The public diſtreſs was aggravated by the fears and reproaches of ſuperſtition (32). Every hour produced ſome horrid tale of ſtrange and portentous accidents: the Pagans deplored the neglect of omens, and the interruption of ſacrifices; but the Chriſtians ſtill derived ſome comfort from the powerful interceſſion of the ſaints and martyrs (33).

(31) Ingentem meminit parvo qui germine quercum
Æquævumque videt conſenuiſſe nemus.
A neighbouring wood born with himſelf he ſees,
And loves his old contemporary trees.
In this paſſage, Cowley is perhaps ſuperior to his original; and the Engliſh poet, who was a good botaniſt, has concealed the *oaks*, under a more general expreſſion.

(32) Claudian de Bell. Get. 199—266. He may ſeem prolix: but fear and ſuperſtition occupied as large a ſpace in the minds of the Italians.

(33) From the paſſages of Paulinus, which Baronius has produced (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 403, No. 51.), it is manifeſt that the general alarm had pervaded all Italy, as far as Nola in Campania, where that famous penitent had fixed his abode.

Honorius flies from Milan, A.D. 403.

The emperor Honorius was diſtinguiſhed, above his ſubjects, by the pre-eminence of fear, as well as of rank. The pride and luxury in which he was educated, had not allowed him to ſuſpect, that there exiſted on the earth any power preſumptuous enough to invade the repoſe of the ſucceſſor of Auguſtus. The arts of flattery concealed the impending danger, till Alaric approached the palace of Milan. But when he ſound of war had awakened the young emperor, inſtead of flying to arms with the ſpirit, or even the raſhneſs, of his age, he eagerly liſtened to thoſe timid counſellors, who propoſed to convey his ſacred perſon, and his faithful attendants, to ſome ſecure and diſtant ſtation in the provinces of Gaul. Stilicho alone (34) had courage and authority to reſiſt this diſgraceful meaſure, which would have abandoned Rome and Italy to the Barbarians; but as the troops of the palace had been lately detached to the Rhætian frontier, and as the reſource of new levies was ſlow and precarious, the general of the Weſt could only promiſe, that, if the court of Milan would maintain their ground during his abſence, he would ſoon return with an army equal to the encounter of the Gothic king. Without loſing a moment (while each moment was ſo important to the public ſafety) Stilicho haſtily embarked on the Larian lake, aſcended the mountains of ice and ſnow, amidſt the ſeverity of an Alpine winter, and ſuddenly repreſſed, by his unexpected preſence, the enemy, who had diſturbed the tranquillity of Rhætia

(34) Solus erat Stilicho, &c. is the excluſive commendation which Claudian beſtows (de Bell. Get. 267.), without condeſcending to except the emperor. How inſignificant muſt Honorius have appeared in his own court!

Rhætia (35). The Barbarians, perhaps ſome tribes of the Alemanni, reſpected the firmneſs of a chief, who ſtill aſſumed the language of command; and the choice which he condeſcended to make, of a ſelect number of their braveſt youth, was conſidered as a mark of his eſteem and favour. The cohorts, who were delivered from the neighbouring foe, diligently repaired to the Imperial ſtandard; and Stilicho iſſued his orders to the moſt remote troops of the Weſt, to advance, by rapid marches, to the defence of Honorius and of Italy. The fortreſſes of the Rhine were abandoned; and the ſafety of Gaul was protected only by the faith of the Germans, and the ancient terror of the Roman name. Even the legion, which had been ſtationed to guard the wall of Britain againſt the Caledonians of the North, was haſtily recalled (36); and a numerous body of cavalry of the Alani was perſuaded to engage in the ſervice of the emperor, who anxiouſly expected the return of his general. The prudence and vigour of Stilicho were conſpicuous on this occaſion, which revealed, at the ſame time, the weakneſs of the falling empire. The legions of Rome, which had long ſince languiſhed in the gradual decay of diſcipline and courage, were exterminated by the Gothic and civil wars; and it was found impoſſible, without exhauſting and expoſing the provinces, to aſſemble an army for the defence of Italy.

(35) The face of the country, and the hardineſs of Stilicho, are nely deſcribed (de Bell. Get. 340—363.).

(36) Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci.
De Bell. Get. 416.

et the moſt rapid march from Edinburgh, or Newcaſtle, to Mi-n, muſt have required a longer ſpace of time than Claudian ems willing to allow for the duration of the Gothic war.

He is pursued and besieged by the Goths.

When Stilicho seemed to abandon his sovereign in the unguarded palace of Milan, he had properly calculated the term of his absence, the distance of the enemy, and the obstacles that might retard their march. He principally depended on the rivers of Italy, the Adige, the Mincius, the Oglio, and the Addua; which, in the winter or spring, by the fall of rains, or by the melting of the snows, are commonly swelled into broad and impetuous torrents (37). But the season happened to be remarkably dry; and the Goths could traverse, without impediment, the wide and stony beds, whose centre was faintly marked by the course of a shallow stream. The bridge and passage of the Addua were secured by a strong detachment of the Gothic army; and as Alaric approached the walls, or rather the suburbs, of Milan, he enjoyed the proud satisfaction of seeing the emperor of the Romans fly before him. Honorius, accompanied by a feeble train of statesmen and eunuchs, hastily retreated towards the Alps, with a design of securing his person in the city of Arles, which had often been the royal residence of his predecessors. But Honorius (38) had scarcely passed the Po, before he was

(37) Every traveller must recollect the face of Lombardy (see Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 279.), which is often tormented by the capricious and irregular abundance of waters. The Austrians, before Genoa, were encamped in the dry bed of the Polcevera. "Ne "sarebbe" (says Muratori) "mai passato per mente a qué buoni "Alemanni, che quel picciolo torrente potess-, per cosi dire in "un instante cangiarsi in un terribil gigante." (Annal. d'Italia, tom. xvi. p. 443. Milan, 1753, 8vo. edit.

(38) Claudian does not clearly answer our question, Where was Honorius himself? Yet the flight is marked by the pursuit; and my idea of the Gothic war is justified by the Italian critics, Sigonius (tom. i. P ii. p. 369. de Imp. Occident. l. x.) and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 45.).

was overtaken by the ſpeed of the Gothic cavalry (39); ſince the urgency of the danger compelled him to ſeek a temporary ſhelter within the fortification of Aſta, a town of Liguria or Piedmont, ſituate on the banks of the Tanarus (40). The ſiege of an obſcure place, which contained ſo rich a prize, and ſeemed incapable of a long reſiſtance, was inſtantly formed, and indefatigably preſſed, by the king of the Goths; and the bold declaration, which the emperor might afterwards make, that his breaſt had never been ſuſceptible of fear, did not probably obtain much credit, even in his own court (41). In the laſt, and almoſt hopeleſs extremity, after the Barbarians had already propoſed the indignity of a capitulation, the Imperial captive was ſuddenly relieved by the fame, the approach, and at length the preſence of the hero, whom he had ſo long expected. At the head of a choſen and intrepid vanguard, Stilicho ſwam the ſtream of the Addua, to gain the time which he muſt have loſt in the attack of the bridge; the paſſage of the Po was an enterpriſe of much leſs hazard and difficulty; and the ſucceſsful action, in which he cut his way through rhe Gothic camp under the walls of Aſta, revived the hopes, and vindicated the honour, of Rome. Inſtead of graſping the fruit of his victory, the Barbarian was gradually inveſted, on every ſide, by the troops of the Weſt,

(39) One of the roads may be traced in the Itineraries (p. 98. 288. 294. with Weſſeling's notes). Aſta lay ſome miles on the right hand.

(40) Aſta, or Aſti, a Roman colony, is now the capital of a pleaſant county, which, in the ſixteenth century, devolved to the Dukes of Savoy (Leandro Alberti Deſcrizzione d'Italia, p. 382.).

(41) Nec me timor impulit ullus. He might hold this proud language the next year at Rome, five hundred miles from the ſcene of danger (vi Conſ. Hon. 449.).

Weſt, who ſucceſſively iſſued through all the paſſes of the Alps; his quarters were ſtraightened; his convoys were intercepted; and the vigilance of the Romans prepared to form a chain of fortifications, and to beſiege the lines of the beſiegers. A military council was aſſembled of the long-haired chiefs of the Gothic nation; of aged warriors, whoſe bodies were wrapped in furs, and whoſe ſtern countenances were marked with honourable wounds. They weighed the glory of perſiſting in their attempt againſt the advantage of ſecuring their plunder; and they recommended the prudent meaſure of a ſeaſonable retreat. In this important debate, Alaric diſplayed the ſpirit of the conqueror of Rome; and after he had reminded his countrymen of their atchievements and of their deſigns, he concluded his animating ſpeech, by the ſolemn and poſitive aſſurance, that he was reſolved to find in Italy, either a kingdom, or a grave (42).

Battle of Pollentia, A.D. 403, March 29.

The looſe diſcipline of the Barbarians always expoſed them to the danger of a ſurpriſe; but, inſtead of chuſing the diſſolute hours of riot and intemperance, Stilicho reſolved to attack the *Chriſtian* Goths whilſt they were devoutly employed in celebrating the feſtival of Eaſter (43). The execution of the ſtratagem, or, as it was termed by the clergy, of the ſacrilege, was entruſted to Saul,

(42) Hanc ego vel victor regno, vel morte tenebo
Victus, humum———

The ſpeeches (de Bell. Get. 479—549.) of the Gothic Neſtor, and Achilles, are ſtrong, characteriſtic, adapted to the circumſtances; and poſſibly not leſs genuine than thoſe of Livy.

(43) Oroſius (l. vii. c. 37.) is ſhocked at the impiety of the Romans, who attacked, on Eaſter-Sunday, ſuch pious Chriſtians. Yet, at the ſame time, public prayers were offered at the ſhrine of St. Thomas of Edeſſa, for the deſtruction of the Arian robber. See Tillemont (Hiſt des Emp. tom. v. p. 529.), who quotes an homily, which has been erroneouſly aſcribed to St. Chryſoſtom.

Saul, a Barbarian and a Pagan, who had ſerved, however, with diſtinguiſhed reputation among the veteran generals of Theodoſius. The camp of the Goths, which Alaric had pitched in the neighbourhood of Pollentia (44), was thrown into confuſion by the ſudden and impetuous charge of the Imperial cavalry; but, in a few moments, the undaunted genius of their leader gave them an order, and a field, of battle; and, as ſoon as they had recovered from their aſtoniſhment, the pious confidence that the God of the Chriſtians would aſſert their cauſe, added new ſtrength to their native valour. In this engagement, which was long maintained with equal courage and ſucceſs, the chief of the Alani, whoſe diminutive and ſavage form concealed a magnanimous ſoul, approved his ſuſpected loyalty, by the zeal with which he fought, and fell, in the ſervice of the republic; and the fame of this gallant Barbarian has been imperfectly preſerved in the verſes of Claudian, ſince the poet, who celebrates his virtue, has omitted the mention of his name. His death was followed by the flight and diſmay of the ſquadrons which he commanded; and the defeat of the wing of cavalry might have decided the victory of Alaric, if Stilicho had not immediately led the Roman and Barbarian infantry to the attack. The ſkill of the general, and the bravery of the ſoldiers, ſurmounted every obſtacle. In the evening of the bloody day, the Goths retreated from the field of battle; the intrenchments of their camp were forced, and the ſcene

(44) The veſtiges of Pollentia are twenty-five miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Turin. *Urbs*, in the ſame neighbourhood, was a royal chace of the kings of Lombardy, and a ſmall river, which excuſed the prediction, "penetrabis ad urbem." (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. i. p. 83—85.

ſcene of rapine and ſlaughter made ſome atonement for the calamities which they had inflicted on the ſubjects of the empire (45). The magnificent ſpoils of Corinth and Argos enriched the veterans of the Weſt; the captive wife of Alaric who had impatiently claimed his promiſe of Roman jewels and Patrician handmaids (46), was reduced to implore the mercy of the inſulting foe; and many thouſand priſoners, releaſed from the Gothic chains, diſperſed through the provinces of Italy the praiſes of their heroic deliverer. The triumph of Stilicho (47) was compared by the poet, and perhaps by the public, to that of Marius; who, in the ſame part of Italy, had encountered and deſtroyed another army of northern Barbarians. The huge bones, and the empty helmets, of the Cimbri and of the Goths, would eaſily be confounded by ſucceeding generations; and poſterity might erect a common trophy to the memory of the two moſt illuſtrious generals, who had vanquiſhed, on the ſame memorable ground, the two moſt formidable enemies of Rome (48).

The

(45) Oroſius wiſhes, in doubtful words, to inſinuate the defeat of the Romans. "Pugnantes vicimus, victores victi ſumus." Proſper (in Chron.) makes it an equal and bloody battle; but the Gothic writers, Caſſiodorius (in Chron.) and Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 29.) claim a deciſive victory.

(46) Demens Auſonidum gemmata monilia matrum,
Romanaſque altâ famulas cervice petebat.
De Bell. Get. 627.

(47) Claudian (de Bell. Get. 580—647.) and Prudentius (in Symmach. l. ii. 694—719.) celebrate, without ambiguity, the Roman victory of Pollentia. They are poetical and party writers; yet ſome credit is due to the moſt ſuſpicious witneſſes, who are checked by the recent notoriety of facts.

(48) Claudian's peroration is ſtrong and elegant; but the identity of the Cimbric and Gothic fields, muſt be underſtood (like Virgil's Philippi, Georgic i. 490.) according to the looſe geography of a poet. Vercellæ and Pollentia are ſixty miles from each other i

The eloquence of Claudian (49) has celebrated, with laviſh applauſe, the victory of Pollentia, one of the moſt glorious days in the life of his patron; but his reluctant and partial muſe beſtows more genuine praiſe on the character of the Gothic king. His name is indeed branded with the reproachful epithets of pirate and robber, to which the conquerors of every age are ſo juſtly entitled; but the poet of Stilicho is compelled to acknowledge, that Alaric compelled the invincible temper of mind, which riſes ſuperior to every misfortune, and derives new reſources from adverſity. After the total defeat of his infantry, he eſcaped, or rather withdrew, from the field of battle, with the greateſt part of his cavalry entire and unbroken. Without waſting a moment to lament the irreparable loſs of ſo many brave companions, he left his victorious enemy to bind in chains the captive images of a Gothic king (50); and boldly reſolved to break through the unguarded paſſes of the Apennine, to ſpread deſolation over the fruitful face of Tuſcany, and to conquer or die before the gates of Rome. The capital was ſaved by the active and inceſſant diligence of Stilicho: but he reſpected the deſpair of his enemy; and, inſtead of committing the fate of the republic to the chance of another battle, he propoſed to purchaſe the abſence of the Barbarians.

Boldneſs and retreat of Alaric.

other; and the latitude is ſtill greater, if the Cimbri were defeated in the wide and barren plain of Verona (Maffei, Verona Illuſtrata, P. i. p. 54—62.

(49) Claudian and Prudentius muſt be ſtrictly examined to reduce the figures, and extort the hiſtoric ſenſe of thoſe poets.

(50) Et gravant en airain ſes frêles avantages.
De mes etats conquis enchainer les images.

The practice of expoſing in triumph the images of kings and provinces, was familiar to the Romans. The buſt of Mithridates himſelf was twelve feet high, of maſſy gold (Freinſhem. Supplement Livian. ciii. 47.).

Barbarians. The ſpirit of Alaric would have rejected ſuch terms, the permiſſion of a retreat, and the offer of a penſion, with contempt and indignation; but he exerciſed a limited and precarious authority over the independent chieftains, who had raiſed him, for *their* ſervice, above the rank of his equals; they were ſtill leſs diſpoſed to follow an unſucceſsful general, and many of them were tempted to conſult their intereſt by a private negociation with the miniſter of Honorius. The king ſubmitted to the voice of his people, ratified the treaty with the empire of the Weſt, and repaſſed the Po, with the remains of the flouriſhing army which he had led into Italy. A conſiderable part of the Roman forces ſtill continued to attend his motions; and Stilicho, who maintained a ſecret correſpondence with ſome of the Barbarian chiefs, was punctually appriſed of the deſigns that were formed in the camp and council of Alaric. The king of the Goths, ambitious to ſignaliſe his retreat by ſome ſplendid atchievement, had reſolved to occupy the important city of Verona, which commands the principal paſſage of the Rhætian Alps; and, directing his march through the territories of thoſe German tribes, whoſe alliance would reſtore his exhauſted ſtrength, to invade, on the ſide of the Rhine, the wealthy and unſuſpecting provinces of Gaul. Ignorant of the treaſon, which had already betrayed his bold and judicious enterpriſe, he advanced towards the paſſes of the mountains already poſſeſſed by the Imperial troops; where he was expoſed, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, to a general attack in the front, on his flanks, and in the rear. In this bloody action, at a ſmall diſtance from the walls of Verona, the loſs of the Goths was not leſs heavy than that which they had ſuſtained

ained in the defeat of Pollentia; and their vali-
nt king, who eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of his
horſe, muſt either have been ſlain or made priſo-
ner, if the haſty raſhneſs of the Alani had not diſ-
appointed the meaſures of the Roman general.
Alaric ſecured the remains of his army on the ad-
jacent rocks; and prepared himſelf, with un-
daunted reſolution, to maintain a ſiege againſt the
ſuperior numbers of the enemy, who inveſted
him on all ſides. But he could not oppoſe the de-
ſtructive progreſs of hunger and diſeaſe; nor
was it poſſible for him to check the continual de-
ſertion of his impatient and capricious Barbari-
ans. In this extremity he ſtill found reſources
in his own courage, or in the moderation of his
adverſary; and the retreat of the Gothic king was
conſidered as the deliverance of Italy (51). Yet
the people, and even the clergy, incapable of
forming any rational judgment of the buſineſs of
peace and war, preſumed to arraign the policy
of Stilicho, who ſo often vanquiſhed, ſo often
ſurrounded, and ſo often diſmiſſed the implaca-
ble enemy of the republic. The firſt moment
of the public ſafety is devoted to gratitude and
joy; but the ſecond is diligently occupied by
envy and calumny (52).

The citizens of Rome had been aſtoniſhed by the approach of Alaric; and the diligence with which they laboured to reſtore the walls of the capital, confeſſed their own fears, and the decline of the empire. After the retreat of the Barbarians, Honorius was directed to accept the dutiful invitation

The triumph of Honorius at Rome. A. D. 404.

(51) The Getic war, and the ſixth conſulſhip of Honorius, obſcurely connect the events of Alaric's retreat and loſſes.

(52) Taceo de Alarico . . . ſæpe victo, ſæpe concluſo, ſemperque dimiſſo. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 37. p. 567. Claudian (vi Conſ. Hon. 320.) drops the curtain with a fine image.

invitation of the ſenate, and to celebrate, in the Imperial city, the auſpicious æra of the Gothic victory, and of his ſixth conſulſhip (53). The ſuburbs and the ſtreets, from the Milvian bridge to the Palatine mount, were filled by the Roman people, who, in the ſpace of an hundred years, had only thrice been honoured with the preſence of their ſovereigns. While their eyes were fixed on the chariot where Stilicho was deſervedly ſeated by the ſide of his royal pupil, they applauded the pomp of a triumph, which was not ſtained, like that of Conſtantine, or of Theodoſius, with civil blood. The proceſſion paſſed under a lofty arch, which had been purpoſely erected: but in leſs than ſeven years the Gothic conquerors of Rome might read, if they were able to read, the ſuperb inſcription of that monument, which atteſted the total defeat and deſtruction of their nation (54). The emperor reſided ſeveral months in the capital, and every part of his behaviour was regulated with care to conciliate the affection of the clergy, the ſenate, and the people of Rome. The clergy was edified by his frequent viſits and liberal gifts, to the ſhrines of the apoſtles. The ſenate, who in the triumphal proceſſion, had been excuſed from the humiliating ceremony of preceding on foot the Imperial chariot, was treated with the decent reverence which Stilicho always affected for that aſſembly. The people was repeatedly gratified by the attention and courteſy of Honorius in the public

(53) The remainder of Claudian's poem on the ſixth conſulſhip of Honorius, deſcribes the journey, the triumph, and the games (33—660.).

(54) See the inſcription in Maſcow's Hiſtory of the Ancient Germans, viii. 12. The words are poſitive and indiſcreet, Getarum nationem in omne ævum domitam, &c.

public games, which were celebrated on that occaſion with a magnificence not unworthy of the ſpectator. As ſoon as the appointed number of chariot-races was concluded, the decoration of the Circus was ſuddenly changed; the hunting of wild beaſts afforded a various and ſplendid entertainment; and the chace was ſucceeded by a military dance, which ſeems, in the lively deſcription of Claudian, to preſent the image of a modern tournament.

The gladiators abolished.

In theſe games of Honorius, the inhuman combats of gladiators (55) polluted for the laſt time, the amphitheatre of Rome. The firſt Chriſtian emperor may claim the honour of the firſt edict, which condemned the art and amuſement of ſhedding human blood (56); but this benevolent law expreſſed the wiſhes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuſe, which degraded a civiliſed nation below the condition of ſavage cannibals. Several hundred, perhaps ſeveral thouſand, victims were annually ſlaughtered in the great cities of the empire; and the month of December, more peculiarly devoted to the combats of gladiators, ſtill exhibited, to the eyes of the Roman people, a grateful ſpectacle of blood and cruelty. Amidſt the general joy of the victory of Pollentia, a Chriſtian poet exhorted the emperor to extirpate, by his authority, the horrid cuſtom which had ſo long reſiſted the voice of humanity and religion (57). The pathetic

(55) On the curious, though horrid, ſubject of the gladiators, conſult the two books of the Saturnalia of Lipſius, who, as an *antiquarian*, is inclined to excuſe the practice of *antiquity* (tom. iii. p. 483—545).

(56) Cod. Theodoſ. l. xv. tit. xii. leg. 1. The Commentary of Godefroy affords large materials (tom. v. p. 396.) for the hiſtory of gladiators.

(57) See the peroration of Prudentius (in Symmach. l. ii. 1121—1131.), who had doubtleſs read the eloquent invective of Lactantius

thetic repreſentations of Prudentius were leſs effectual than the generous boldneſs of Telemachus, an Aſiatic monk, whoſe death was more uſeful to mankind than his life (58). The Romans were provoked by the interruption of their pleaſures; and the raſh monk, who had deſcended into the arena, to ſeparate the gladiators, was overwhelmed under a ſhower of ſtones. But the madneſs of the people ſoon ſubſided; they reſpected the memory of Telemachus, who had deſerved the honours of martyrdom; and they ſubmitted, without a murmur, to the laws of Honorius, which aboliſhed for ever the human ſacrifices of the amphitheatre. The citizens, who adhered to the manners of their anceſtors, might perhaps inſinuate, that the laſt remains of a martial ſpirit were preſerved in this ſchool of fortitude, which accuſtomed the Romans to the ſight of blood, and to the contempt of death: a vain and cruel prejudice, ſo nobly confuted by the valour of ancient Greece, and of modern Europe (59)!

Honorius fixes his reſidence at Ravenna, A.D. 404.

The recent danger, to which the perſon of the emperor had been expoſed in the defenceleſs palace of Milan, urged him to ſeek a retreat in ſome inacceſſible fortreſs of Italy, where he might ſecurely

Lactantius (Divin. Inſtitut. l. vi. c. 26.). The Chriſtian apologiſts have not ſpared theſe bloody games, which were introduced in the religious feſtivals of Paganiſm.

(58) Theodoret, l. v. c. 26. I wiſh to believe the ſtory of St. Telemachus. Yet no church has been dedicated, no altar has been erected, to the only monk who died a martyr in the cauſe of humanity.

(59) Crudele gladiatorum ſpectaculum et inhumanum *nonnullis* videre ſolet; et *haud ſcio* an ita ſit, ut nunc fit. Cicero Tuſculan. ii. 17. He faintly cenſures the *abuſe*, and warmly defends the *uſe*, of theſe ſports; oculis nulla poterat eſſe fortior contra dolorem et mortem diſciplina. Seneca (epiſt. vii.) ſhews the feelings of a man.

ſecurely remain, while the open country was covered by a deluge of Barbarians. On the coaſt of the Hadriatic, about ten or twelve miles from the moſt ſouthern of the ſeven mouths of the Po, the Theſſalians had founded the ancient colony of RAVENNA (60), which they afterwards reſigned to the natives of Umbria. Auguſtus, who had obſerved the opportunity of the place, prepared, at the diſtance of three miles from the old town, a capacious harbour, for the reception of two hundred and fifty ſhips of war. This naval eſtabliſhment, which included the arſenals and magazines, the barracks of the troops, and the houſes of the artificers, derived its origin and name from the permanent ſtation of the Roman fleet; the intermediate ſpace was ſoon filled with buildings and inhabitants, and the three extenſive and populous quarters of Ravenna gradually contributed to form one of the moſt important cities of Italy. The principal canal of Auguſtus poured a copious ſtream of the waters of the Po through the midſt of the city, to the entrance of the harbour; the ſame waters were introduced into the profound ditches that encompaſſed the walls; they were diſtributed, by a thouſand ſubordinate canals, into every part of the city, which they divided into a variety of ſmall iſlands; the communication was maintained only by the uſe of boats and bridges; and the houſes of Ravenna, whoſe appearance may be compare to that of Venice, were raiſed on the foundation of wooden

(60) This account of Ravenna is drawn from Strabo (l. v. p. 327.), Pliny (iii. 20.), Stephen of Byzantium (ſub voce Ραβενα, p. 651. edit. Berkel.), Claudian (in vi Conſ. Honor. 494, &c.), Sidonius Apollinaris (l. i. epiſt. v. 8), Jornandes (de Reb Get. c. 29), Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. l. i. c. i. p. 309 edit. Louvre), and Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 301—307). Yet I ſtill want a local antiquarian, and a good topographical map.

wooden piles. The adjacent country, to the diſtance of many miles, was a deep and impaſſable moraſs; and the artificial cauſeway, which connected Ravenna with the continent, might be eaſily guarded, or deſtroyed, on the approach of an hoſtile army. Theſe moraſſes were interſperſed, however, with vineyards; and though the ſoil was exhauſted by four or five crops, the town enjoyed a more plentiful ſupply of wine than of freſh water (61). The air, inſtead of receiving the ſickly, and almoſt peſtilential, exhalations of low and marſhy grounds, was diſtinguiſhed, like the neighbourhood of Alexandria, as uncommonly pure and ſalubrious; and this ſingular advantage was aſcribed to the regular tides of the Hadriatic, which ſwept the canals, interrupted the unwholeſome ſtagnation of the waters, and floated, every day, the veſſels of the adjacent country into the heart of Ravenna. The gradual retreat of the ſea has left the modern city at the diſtance of four miles from the Hadriatic; and as early as the fifth or ſixth century of the Chriſtian æra, the port of Auguſtus was converted into pleaſant orchards; and a lonely grove of pines covered the ground where the Roman fleet once rode at anchor (62). Even this alteration contributed to encreaſe the natural ſtrength

(61) Martial (epigram iii. 56, 57.) plays on the trick of the knave, who had ſold him wine inſtead of water; but he ſeriouſly declares, that a ciſtern, at Ravenna, is more valuable than a vineyard. Sidonius complains that the town is deſtitute of fountains and aqueducts; and ranks the want of freſh water among the local evils, ſuch as the croaking of frogs, the ſtinging of gnats, &c.

(62) The fable of Theodore and Honoria, which Dryden has ſo admirably tranſplanted from Bocaccio (Giornata iii. novell viii. was acted in the wood of *Chiaſſi*, a corrupt word from *Claſſis*, the naval ſtation, which, with the intermediate road or ſuburb, the *Via Cæſaris*, conſtituted the *triple* city of Ravenna.

ſtrength of the place; and the ſhallowneſs of the water was a ſufficient barrier againſt the large ſhips of the enemy. This advantageous ſituation was fortified by art and labour; and in the twentieth year of his age, the emperor of the Weſt, anxious only for his perſonal ſafety, retired to the perpetual confinement of the walls and moraſſes of Ravenna. The example of Honorius was imitated by his feeble ſucceſſors, the Gothic kings, and afterwards the Exarchs, who occupied the throne and palace of the emperors; and, till the middle of the eighth century, Ravenna was conſidered as the ſeat of government, and the capital of Italy (63).

The fears of Honorius were not without foundation, nor were his precautions without effect. While Italy rejoiced in her deliverance from the Goths, a furious tempeſt was excited among the nations of Germany, who yielded to the irreſiſtible impulſe, that appears to have been gradually communicated from the eaſtern extremity of the continent of Aſia. The Chineſe annals, as they have been interpreted by the learned induſtry of the preſent age, may be uſefully applied to reveal the ſecret and remote cauſes of the fall of the Roman empire. The extenſive territory to the north of the great wall, was poſſeſſed, after the flight of the Huns, by the victorious Sienpi; who were ſometimes broken into independent tribes, and ſometimes re-united under a ſupreme chief; till at length ſtyling themſelves *Topa*, or maſters of the earth, they acquired a more ſolid conſiſtence, and a more formidable power. The Topa ſoon compelled

The revolutions of Scythia, A. D. 400.

(63) From the year 404, the dates of the Theodoſian Code become ſedentary at Conſtantinople and Ravenna. See Godefroy's Chronology of the Laws, tom. i. p. cxlviii. &c.

pelled the paſtoral nations of the eaſtern deſert to acknowledge the ſuperiority of their arms; they invaded China in a period of weakneſs and inteſtine diſcord; and theſe fortunate Tartars, adopting the laws and manners of the vanquiſhed people, founded an Imperial dynaſty, which reigned near one hundred and ſixty years over the northern provinces of the monarchy. Some generations before they aſcended the throne of China, one of the Topa princes had enliſted in his cavalry a ſlave of the name of Moko, renowned for his valour; but who was tempted, by the fear of puniſhment, to deſert his ſtandard, and to range the deſert at the head of an hundred followers. This gang of robbers and outlaws ſwelled into a camp, a tribe, a numerous people, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Geougen*; and their hereditary chieftains, the poſterity of Moko the ſlave, aſſumed their rank among the Scythian monarchs. The youth of Toulun, the greateſt of his deſcendants, was exerciſed by thoſe misfortunes which are the ſchool of heroes. He bravely ſtruggled with adverſity, broke the imperious yoke of the Topa, and became the legiſlator of his nation, and the conqueror of Tartary. His troops were diſtributed into regular bands of an hundred and of a thouſand men; cowards were ſtoned to death; the moſt ſplendid honours were propoſed as the reward of valour; and Toulun who had knowledge enough to deſpiſe the learning of China, adopted only ſuch arts and inſtitutions as were favourable to the military ſpirit of his government. His tents, which he removed in the winter ſeaſon to a more ſouthern latitude, were pitched, during the ſummer, on the fruitful banks of the Selinga. His conqueſts ſtretched from

from Corea far beyond the river Irtiſh. He vanquiſhed, in the country to the North of the Caſpian ſea, the nation of the Huns; and the new title of *Khan*, or *Cagan*, expreſſed the fame and power which he derived from this memorable victory (64).

Emigration of the northern Germans, A.D. 405.

The chain of events is interrupted, or rather is concealed, as it paſſes from the Volga to the Viſtula, through the dark interval, which ſeparates the extreme limits of the Chineſe, and of the Roman, geography. Yet the temper of the Barbarians, and the experience of ſucceſſive emigrations, ſufficiently declare, that the Huns, who were oppreſſed by the arms of the Geougen, ſoon withdrew from the preſence of an inſulting victor. The countries towards the Euxine were already occupied by their kindred tribes; and their haſty flight, which they ſoon converted into a bold attack, would more naturally be directed towards the rich and level plains, through which the Viſtula gently flows into the Baltic ſea. The North muſt again have been alarmed, and agitated, by the invaſion of the Huns; and the nations who retreated before them, muſt have preſſed with incumbent weight on the confines of Germany (65). The inhabitants of thoſe regions, which the ancients have aſſigned to the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Burgundians, might embrace the reſolution of abandoning to the fugitives of Sarmatia, their woods and moraſſes; or at leaſt of

(64) See M. de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 179—189. tom. ii. p. 295. 334—338.

(65) Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. iii. p. 182.) has obſerved an emigration from the Palus Mæotis to the north of Germany, which he aſcribes to famine. But his views of ancient hiſtory are ſtrangely darkened by ignorance and error.

diſcharging their ſuperfluous numbers on the provinces of the Roman empire (66). About four years after the victorious Toulun had aſſumed the title of Khan of the Geougen, another Barbarian, the haughty Rhodogaſt, or Radagaiſus (67), marched from the northern extremities of Germany almoſt to the gates of Rome, and left the remains of his army to atchieve the deſtruction of the Weſt. The Vandals, the Suevi, and the Burgundians, formed the ſtrength of this mighty hoſt; but the Alani, who had found an hoſpitable reception in their new ſeats, added their active cavalry to the heavy infantry of the Germans; and the Gothic adventurers crowded ſo eagerly to the ſtandard of Radagaiſus, that, by ſome hiſtorians he has been ſtyled the King of the Goths. Twelve thouſand warriors, diſtinguiſhed above the vulgar by their noble birth, or their valiant deeds, glittered in the van (68); and the whole multitude, which was not leſs than two hundred thouſand fighting men, might be increaſed, by by the acceſſion of women, of children, and of ſlaves, to the amount of four hundred thouſand perſons. This formidable emigration, iſſued from the ſame coaſt of the Baltic, which had poured forth the myriads of the Cimbri and Teutones,

(66) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 331.) uſes the general deſcription of the nations beyond the Danube and the Rhine. Their ſituation, and conſequently their names, are manifeſtly ſhewn, even in the various epithets which each writer may have caſually added.

(67) The name of Rhadagaſt was that of a local deity of the Obotrites (in Mecklenburgh). A hero might naturally aſſume the appellation of his tutelar god; but it is not probable that the Barbarians ſhould worſhip an unſucceſsful hero. See Maſcou, Hiſt. of the Germans, viii. 14.

(68) Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180.) uſes the Latin word Οπτιματοι; which does not convey any preciſe idea. I ſuſpect that they were the princes and nobles, with their faithful companions; the knights with their 'ſquires, as they would have been ſtyled ſome centuries afterwards.

Teutones, to aſſault Rome and Italy in the vigour of the republic. After the departure of thoſe Barbarians, their native country, which was marked by the veſtiges of their greatneſs, long ramparts, and gigantic moles (69), remained, during ſome ages, a vaſt and dreary ſolitude; till the human ſpecies was renewed by the powers of generation, and the vacancy was filled by the influx of new inhabitants. The nations who now uſurp an extent of land, which they are unable to cultivate, would ſoon be aſſiſted by the induſtrious poverty of their neighbours, if the government of Europe did not protect the claims of dominion and property.

Radagaiſus invades Italy, A. D. 406.

The correſpondence of nations was, in that age, ſo imperfect and precarious, that the revolutions of the North might eſcape the knowledge of the court of Ravenna; till the dark cloud, which was collected along the coaſt of the Baltic, burſt in thunder upon the banks of the Upper Danube. The emperor of the Weſt, if his miniſters diſturbed his amuſements by the news of the impending danger, was ſatisfied with being the occaſion, and the ſpectator of the war (70). The ſafety of Rome was entruſted to the counſels, and the ſword, of Stilicho; but ſuch was the feeble and exhauſted ſtate of the empire, that it was impoſſible to reſtore the fortifications of the Danube, or to prevent, by a vigorous effort, the invaſion of the

(69) Tacit. de Moribus Germanorum, c. 37.

(70) ——— Cujus agendi
Spectator vel cauſa fui.
Claudian, vi Conſ. Hon. 439.
is the modeſt language of Honorius, in ſpeaking of the Gothic war, which he had ſeen ſomewhat nearer.

the Germans (71). The hopes of the vigilant miniſter of Honorius were confined to the defence of Italy. He once more abandoned the provinces, recalled the troops, preſſed the new levies, which were rigorouſly exacted, and puſillanimouſly eluded; employed the moſt efficacious means to arreſt, or allure, the deſerters; and offered the gift of freedom, and of two pieces of gold, to all the ſlaves who would enliſt (72). By theſe efforts he painfully collected, from the ſubjects of a great empire, an army of thirty or forty thouſand men, which, in the days of Scipio or Camillus, would have been inſtantly furniſhed by the free citizens of the territory of Rome (73). The thirty legions of Stilicho were reinforced by a large body of Barbarian auxiliaries; the faithful Alani were perſonally attached to his ſervice; and the troops of Huns and of Goths, who marched under the banners of their native princes, Huldin and Sarus, were animated by intereſt and reſentment to oppoſe the ambition of Radagaiſus. The king of the confederate Germans paſſed, without reſiſtance, the Alps, the Po, and the Ap-

(71) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 331.) tranſports the war, and the victory of Stilicho, beyond the Danube. A ſtrange error, which is awkwardly and imperfectly cured, by reading Ἄρνον for Ἴστρον (Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 807.). In good policy, we muſt uſe the ſervice of Zoſimus, without eſteeming or truſting him.

(72) Codex Theodoſ. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 16. The date of this law (A. D. 406, May 18.) ſatisfies me, as it had done Godefroy (tom. ii. p. 387), of the true year of the invaſion of Radagaiſus. Tillemont, Pagi, and Muratori, prefer the preceding year; but they are bound, by certain obligations of civility and reſpect, to St. Paulinus of Nola.

(73) Soon after Rome had been taken by the Gauls, the ſenate, on a ſudden emergency, armed ten legions, 3000 horſe, and 42,000 foot; a force which the city could not have ſent forth under Auguſtus (Livy, vii. 25.). This declaration may puzzle an antiquary, but it is clearly explained by Monteſquieu.

Apennine: leaving on one hand the inacceſſible palace of Honorius, ſecurely buried among the marſhes of Ravenna; and, on the other, the camp of Stilicho, who had fixed his head-quarters at Ticinum, or Pavia, but who ſeems to have avoided a deciſive battle, till he had aſſembled his diſtant forces. Many cities of Italy were pillaged, or deſtroyed; and the ſiege of Florence (74), by Radagaiſus, is one of the earlieſt events in the hiſtory of that celebrated republic; whoſe firmneſs checked and delayed the unſkilful fury of the Barbarians. The ſenate and people trembled at their approach within an hundred and eighty miles of Rome; and anxiouſly compared the danger which they had eſcaped, with the new perils to which they were expoſed. Alaric was a Chriſtian and a ſoldier, the leader of a diſciplined army; who underſtood the laws of war, who reſpected the ſanctity of treaties, and who had familiarly converſed with the ſubjects of the empire in the ſame camps, and the ſame churches. The ſavage Radagaiſus was a ſtranger to the manners, the religion, and even the language, of the civiliſed nations of the South. The fierceneſs of his temper was exaſperated by cruel ſuperſtition; and it was univerſally believed, that he had bound himſelf, by a ſolemn vow, to reduce the city into a heap of ſtones and aſhes, and to ſacrifice the moſt illuſtrious of the Roman ſenators, on the altars of thoſe gods, who were appeaſed by human blood.

Beſieges Florence,

and threatens Rome.

(74) Machiavel has explained, at leaſt as a philoſopher, the origin of Florence, which inſenſibly deſcended, for the benefit of trade, from the rock of Fæſulæ to the banks of the Arno (Iſtoria Fiorentina, tom. i. l. ii. p. 36. Londra, 1747.). The Triumvirs ſent a colony to Florence, which, under Tiberius (Tacit. Annal. i. 79.), deſerved the reputation and name of a *flouriſhing* city. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. i. p. 507, &c.

blood. The public danger, which ſhould have reconciled all domeſtic animoſities, diſplayed the incurable madneſs of religious faction. The oppreſſed votaries of Jupiter and Mercury reſpected, in the implacable enemy of Rome, the character of a devout Pagan; loudly declared, that they were more apprehenſive of the ſacrifices, than of the arms, of Radagaiſus; and ſecretly rejoiced in the calamities of their country, which condemned the faith of their Chriſtian adverſaries (75).

Defeat and deſtruction of his army by Stilicho, A. D. 406.

Florence was reduced to the laſt extremity; and the fainting courage of the citizens was ſupported only by the authority of St. Ambroſe; who had communicated, in a dream, the promiſe of a ſpeedy deliverance (76). On a ſudden they beheld, from their walls, the banners of Stilicho, who advanced, with his united force, to the relief of the faithful city; and who ſoon marked that fatal ſpot for the grave of the Barbarian hoſt. The apparent contradictions of thoſe writers who variouſly relate the defeat of Radagaiſus, may be reconciled, without offering much violence to their reſpective teſtimonies. Oroſius and Auguſtin, who were intimately connected by friendſhip and religion, aſcribe this miraculous victory to the providence of God, rather

(75) Yet the Jupiter of Radagaiſus, who worſhipped Thor and Woden, was very different from the Olympic or Capitoline Jove. The accommodating temper of Polytheiſm might unite thoſe various and remote deities; but the genuine Romans abhorred the human ſacrifices of Gaul and Germany.

(76) Paulinus (in Vit. Ambroſ. c. 50.) relates this ſtory, which he received from the mouth of Panſophia herſelf, a religious matron of Florence. Yet the archbiſhop ſoon ceaſed to take an active part in the buſineſs of the world, and never became a popular ſaint.

rather than to the valour of man (77). They ſtrictly exclude every idea of chance, or even of bloodſhed; and poſitively affirm, that the Romans, whoſe camp was the ſcene of plenty and idleneſs, enjoyed the diſtreſs of the Barbarians, ſlowly expiring on the ſharp and barren ridge of the hills of Fæſulæ, which riſe above the city of Florence. Their extravagant aſſertion, that not a ſingle ſoldier of the Chriſtian army was killed, or even wounded, may be diſmiſſed with ſilent contempt; but the reſt of the narrative of Auguſtin and Oroſius is conſiſtent with the ſtate of the war, and the character of Stilicho. Conſcious that he commanded the *laſt* army of the republic, his prudence would not expoſe it, in the open field, to the headſtrong fury of the Germans. The method of ſurrounding the enemy with ſtrong lines of circumvallation, which he had twice employed againſt the Gothic king, was repeated on a larger ſcale, and with more conſiderable effect. The examples of Cæſar muſt have been familiar to the moſt illiterate of the Roman warriors; and the fortifications of Dyrrachium, which connected twenty-four caſtles, by a perpetual ditch and rampart of fifteen miles, afforded the model of an intrenchment which might confine, and ſtarve, the moſt numerous hoſt of Barbarians (78). The Roman troops

(77) Auguſtin de Civitat. Dei, v. 23. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 37. p. 567—571. The two friends wrote in Africa, ten or twelve years after the victory; and their authority is implicitly followed by Iſidore of Seville (in Chron. p. 713. edit. Grot.). How many intereſting facts might Oroſius have inſerted in the vacant ſpace which is devoted to pious nonſenſe!

(78) Franguntur montes, planumque per ardua Cæſar
Ducit opus: pandit foſſis, turritaque ſummis
Diſponit caſtella jugis, magnoque receſsû

Amplexus

troops had leſs degenerated from the induſtry, than from the valour, of their anceſtors; and if the ſervile and laborious work offended the pride of the ſoldiers, Tuſcany could ſupply many thouſand peaſants, who would labour, though, perhaps, they would not fight, for the ſalvation of their native country. The impriſoned multitude of horſes and men (79) was gradually deſtroyed by famine, rather than by the ſword; but the Romans were expoſed, during the progreſs of ſuch an extenſive work, to the frequent attacks of an impatient enemy. The deſpair of the hungry Barbarians would precipitate them againſt the fortifications of Stilicho; the general might ſometimes indulge the ardour of his brave auxiliaries, who eagerly preſſed to aſſault the camp of the Germans; and theſe various incidents might produce the ſharp and bloody conflicts which dignify the narrative of Zoſimus, and the Chronicles of Proſper and Marcellinus (80). A ſeaſonable ſupply of men and proviſions had been introduced into the walls of Florence; and the famiſhed hoſt of Radagaiſus was in its turn beſieged. The proud monarch of ſo many warlike nations, after the loſs of his braveſt warriors, was reduced to confide either in the faith of a capitulation,

Amplexus fines; ſaltus nemoroſaque teſqua
Et ſilvas vaſtâque feras indagine claudit.

Yet the ſimplicity of truth (Cæſar, de Bell. Civ. iii. 44.) is far greater than the amplifications of Lucan (Pharſal. l. vi. 29—63.).

(79) The rhetorical expreſſions of Oroſius, "In arido et aſpero montis jugo;" "in unum ac parvum verticem," are not very ſuitable to the encampment of a great army. But Fæſulæ, only three miles from Florence, might afford ſpace for the head-quarters of Radagaiſus, and would be comprehended within the circuit of the Roman lines.

(80) See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 331. and the chronicles of Proſper and Marcellinus.

capitulation, or in the clemency of Stilicho (81). But the death of the royal captive, who was ignominiously beheaded, disgraced the triumph of Rome and of Christianity; and the short delay of his execution was sufficient to brand the conqueror with the guilt of cool and deliberate cruelty (82). The famished Germans, who escaped at the fury of the auxiliaries, were sold as slaves, the contemptible price of as many single pieces of gold: but the difference of food and climate swept away great numbers of those unhappy strangers; and it was observed, that the inhuman purchasers, instead of reaping the fruits of their labour, were soon obliged to provide the expence of their interment. Stilicho informed the emperor and the senate of his success; and deserved, a second time, the glorious title of Deliverer of Italy (83).

The remainder of the Germans invade Gaul, A. D. 406, December 31.

The fame of the victory, and more especially of the miracle, has encouraged a vain persuasion, that the whole army, or rather nation, of Germans, who migrated from the shores of the Baltic, miserably perished under the walls of Florence. Such indeed was the fate of Radagaisus himself, of his brave and faithful companions, and of more than one-third of the various multitude

(81) Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180.) uses an expression (μεσοπαιρισατο,) which would denote a strict and friendly alliance, and render Stilicho still more criminal. The paulisper detentus, deinde interfectus, of Orosius, is sufficiently odious.

(82) Orosius, piously inhuman, sacrifices the king and people, Agag and the Amalekites, without a symptom of compassion. The bloody actor is less detestable than the cool unfeeling historian.

(83) And Claudian's muse, was she asleep? had she been ill paid? Methinks the seventh consulship of Honorius (A. D. 407.) would have furnished the subject of a noble poem. Before it was discovered that the state could no longer be saved, Stilicho (after Romulus, Camillus, and Marius) might have been worthily surnamed the fourth founder of Rome.

tude of Sueves and Vandals, of Alani and Burgundians, who adhered to the ſtandard of their general (84). The union of ſuch an army might excite our ſurpriſe, but the cauſes of ſeparation are obvious and forcible; the pride of birth, the inſolence of valour, the jealouſy of command, the impatience of ſubordination, and the obſtinate conflict of opinions, of intereſts, and of paſſions, among ſo many kings and warriors who were untaught to yield, or to obey. After the defeat of Radagaiſus, two parts of the German hoſt, which muſt have exceeded the number of one hundred thouſand men, ſtill remained in arms between the Apennine and the Alps, or between the Alps and the Danube. It is uncertain whether they attempted to revenge the death of their general; but their irregular fury was ſoon diverted by the prudence and firmneſs of Stilicho, who oppoſed their march, and facilitated their retreat; who conſidered the ſafety of Rome and Italy as the great object of his care, and who ſacrificed with too much indifference, the wealth and tranquillity of the diſtant provinces (85). The Barbarians acquired, from the junction of ſome Pannonian deſerters, the knowledge of the country and of the roads; and the invaſion of Gaul, which Alaric had deſigned, was executed by the remains of the great army of Radagaiſus (86).

Ye

(84) A luminous paſſage of Proſper's Chronicle, "*In tr* "*partes, per diverſos principes, diviſus exercitus*, reduces t miracle of Florence, and connects the hiſtory of Italy, Gaul, a Germany.

(85) Oroſius and Jerom poſitively charge him with inſtigati the invaſion. "Excitatæ a Stilichone gentes," &c. They m mean *indirectly*. He ſaved Italy at the expence of Gaul.

(86) The Count de Buat is ſatisfied, that the Germans who i vaded Gaul were the *two-thirds* that yet remained of the ar

Yet if they expected to derive any assistance from the tribes of Germany, who inhabited the banks of the Rhine, their hopes were disappointed. The Alemanni preserved a state of inactive neutrality; and the Franks distinguished their zeal and courage in the defence of the empire. In the rapid progress down the Rhine, which was the first act of the administration of Stilicho, he had applied himself, with peculiar attention, to secure the alliance of the warlike Franks, and to remove the irreconcileable enemies of peace and of the republic. Marcomir, one of their kings, was publicly convicted, before the tribunal of the Roman magistrate, of violating the faith of treaties. He was sentenced to a mild, but distant, exile, in the province of Tuscany; and this degradation of the regal dignity was so far from exciting the resentment of his subjects, that they punished with death the turbulent Sunno, who attempted to revenge his brother; and maintained a dutiful allegiance to the princes, who were established on the throne by the choice of Stilicho (87). When the limits of Gaul and Germany were shaken by the northern emigration, the Franks bravely encountered the

of Radagaisus. See the Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe (tom. vii. p. 87—121. Paris, 1772.); an elaborate work, which I had not the advantage of perusing till the year 1777. As early as 1771, I find the same idea expressed in a rough draught of the present History. I have since observed a similar intimation in Mascou (viii. 15.). Such agreement, without mutual communication, may add some weight to our common sentiment.

(87) ——— Provincia missos
Expellet citius fasces, quam Franci a reges
Quos dederis.

Claudian (1 Cons. Stil. l. i. 2, 35, &c.) is clear and satisfactory. These kings of France are unknown to Gregory of Tours; but the author of the Gesta Francorum mentions both Sunno and Marcomir, and names the latter as the father of Pharamond (in tom. ii. p. 543.). He seems to write from good materials, which he did not understand.

the ſingle force of the Vandals; who, regardleſs of the leſſons of adverſity, had again ſeparated their troops from the ſtandard of their Barbarian allies. They paid the penalty of their raſhneſs; and twenty thouſand Vandals, with their king Godigiſclus, were ſlain in the field of battle. The whole people muſt have been extirpated, if the ſquadrons of the Alani, advancing to their relief, had not trampled down the infantry of the Franks; who, after an honourable reſiſtance, were compelled to relinquiſh the unequal conteſt. The victorious confederates purſued their march, and on the laſt day of the year, in a ſeaſon when the waters of the Rhine were moſt probably frozen, they entered, without oppoſition, the defenceleſs provinces of Gaul. This memorable paſſage of the Suevi, the Vandals, the Alani, and the Burgundians, who never afterwards retreated, may be conſidered as the fall of the Roman empire in the countries beyond the Alps; and the barriers, which had ſo long ſeparated the ſavage and the civiliſed nations of the earth, were from that fatal moment levelled with the ground (88).

Deſolation of Gaul, A. D. 407, &c.

While the peace of Germany was ſecured by the attachment of the Franks, and the neutrality of the Alemanni, the ſubjects of Rome, unconſcious of their approaching calamities, enjoyed the ſtate of quiet and proſperity, which had ſeldom bleſſed the frontiers of Gaul. Their flocks and herds were permitted to graze in the paſtures of the Barbarians; their huntſmen penetrated,

(88) See Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 373.), Orſius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 576.), and the Chronicles. Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 9. p. 165. in the ſecond volume of the Hiſtorians of France) has preſerved a valuable fragment of Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, whoſe three names denote a Chriſtian, a Roman ſubject, and a Semi-barbarian.

trated, without fear or danger, into the darkeſt receſſes of the Hercynian wood (89). The banks of the Rhine were crowned, like thoſe of the Tyber, with elegant houſes and well cultivated farms; and if a poet deſcended the river, he might expreſs his doubt, on which ſide was ſituated the territory of the Romans (90). This ſcene of peace and plenty was ſuddenly changed into a deſert; and the proſpect of the ſmoaking ruins could alone diſtinguiſh the ſolitude of nature from the deſolation of man. The flouriſhing city of Mentz was ſurpriſed and deſtroyed; and many thouſand Chriſtians were inhumanly maſſacred in the church. Worms periſhed after a long and obſtinate ſiege; Straſburgh, Spires, Rheims, Tournay, Arras, Amiens, experienced the cruel oppreſſion of the German yoke; and the conſuming flames of war ſpread from the banks of the Rhine over the greateſt part of the ſeventeen provinces of Gaul. That rich and extenſive country, as far as the ocean, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, was delivered to the Barbarians, who drove before them, in a promiſcuous crowd, the biſhop, the ſenator, and the virgin, laden with the ſpoils of their houſes and altars (91). The eccleſiaſtics, to whom we are indebted

(89) Claudian (1 Conſ. Stil. l. i. 221. &c. l. ii. 186.) deſcribes the peace and proſperity of the Gallic frontier. The Abbé Dubos (Hiſt. Critique, &c. tom. i. p. 174.) would read *Alba* (a nameleſs rivulet of the Ardennes) inſtead of *Albis*; and expatiates on the danger of the Gallic cattle grazing beyond the *Elbe*. Fooliſh enough! In poetical geography, the Elbe, and the Hercynian, ſignify any river, or any wood, in Germany. Claudian is not prepared for the ſtrict examination of our antiquaries.

(90) ——— Geminaſque viator
Cum videat ripas, quæ ſit Romana requirat.

(91) Jerom, tom. i. p. 93. See in the 1ſt vol. of the Hiſtorians of France, p. 777. 782, the propter extracts from the Carmen de Providentiâ Divinâ, and Salvian. The anonymous poet was himſelf a captive, with his biſhop and fellow-citizens.

indebted for this vague deſcription of the public calamities, embraced the opportunity of exhorting the Chriſtians to repent of the ſins which had provoked the Divine Juſtice, and to renounce the periſhable goods of a wretched and deceitful world. But as the Pelagian controverſy (92), which attempts to ſound the abyſs of grace and predeſtination, ſoon became the ſerious employment of the Latin clergy; the Providence which had decreed, or foreſeen, or permitted, ſuch a train of moral and natural evils, was raſhly weighed in the imperfect and fallacious balance of reaſon. The crimes, and the misfortunes, of the ſuffering people, were preſumptuouſly compared with thoſe of their anceſtors; and they arraigned the Divine juſtice, which did not exempt from the common deſtruction the feeble, the guiltleſs, the infant portion of the human ſpecies. Theſe idle diſputants overlooked the invariable laws of nature, which have connected peace with innocence, plenty with induſtry, and ſafety with valour. The timid and ſelfiſh policy of the court of Ravenna might recall the Palatine legions for the protection of Italy; the remains of the ſtationary troops might be unequal to the arduous taſk; and the Barbarian auxiliaries might prefer the unbounded licence of ſpoil to the benefits of a moderate and regular ſtipend. But the provinces of Gaul were filled with a numerous race of hardy and robuſt youth, who, in the defence of their houſes, their families,

(92) The Pelagian doctrine, which was firſt agitated A. D. 405, was condemned, in the ſpace of ten years, at Rome and Carthage. St. Auguſtin fought and conquered: but the Greek church was favourable to his adverſaries; and (what is ſingular enough) the people did not take any part in a diſpute which they could not underſtand.

lies, and their altars, if they had dared to die, would have deſerved to vanquiſh. The knowledge of their native country would have enabled them to oppoſe continual and inſuperable obſtacles to the progreſs of an invader; and the deficiency of the Barbarians, in arms as well as in diſcipline, removed the only pretence which excuſes the ſubmiſſion of a populous country to the inferior numbers of a veteran army. When France was invaded by Charles the Fifth, he enquired of a priſoner, how many *days* Paris might be diſtant from the frontier; "Perhaps *twelve*, "but they will be days of battle (93):" ſuch was the gallant anſwer which checked the arrogance of that ambitious prince. The ſubjects of Honorious, and thoſe of Francis I., were animated by a very different ſpirit; and in leſs than two years, the divided troops of the ſavages of the Baltic, whoſe numbers, were they fairly ſtated, would appear contemptible, advanced, without a combat, to the foot of the Pyrenæan mountains.

Revolt of the Britiſh army, A. D. 407.

In the early part of the reign of Honorius, the vigilance of Stilicho had ſucceſsfully guarded the remote iſland of Britain from her inceſſant enemies of the ocean, the mountains, and the Iriſh coaſt (94). But thoſe reſtleſs Barbarians

(93) See the Memoires de Guillaume du Bellay, l. vi. In French, the original reproof is leſs obvious, and more pointed, from the double ſenſe of the word *journée*, which alike ſignifies, a day's travel, or a battle.

(94) Claudian (i Conſ. Stil. l. ii. (250.). It is ſuppoſed, that the Scots of Ireland invaded, by ſea, the whole weſtern coaſt of Britain: and ſome ſlight credit may be given even to Nennius and the Iriſh traditions (Carte's Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 169. Whitaker's Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons, p. 199.). The ſixty-ſix lives of St. Patrick, which were extant in the ninth century, muſt have contained as many thouſand lies; yet we may believe, that,

could not neglect the fair opportunity of the Gothic war, when the walls and ſtations of the province were ſtripped of the Roman troops. If any of the legionaries were permitted to return from the Italian expedition, their faithful report of the court and character of Honorious muſt have tended to diſſolve the bonds of allegiance, and to exaſperate the ſeditious temper of the Britiſh army. The ſpirit of revolt, which had formerly diſturbed the age of Gallienus, was revived by the capricious violence of the ſoldiers; and the unfortunate, perhaps the ambitious, candidates, who were the objects of their choice, were the inſtruments, and at length the victims, of their paſſion (95). Marcus was the firſt whom they placed on the throne, as the lawful emperor of Britain, and of the Weſt. They violated, by the haſty murder of Marcus, the oath of fidelity which they had impoſed on themſelves; and *their* diſapprobation of his manners may ſeem to inſcribe an honourable epitaph on his tomb. Gratian was the next whom they adorned with the diadem and the purple; and, at the end of four months, Gratian experienced the fate of his predeceſſor. The memory of the great Conſtantine, whom the Britiſh legions had given to the church and to the empire, ſuggeſted the ſingular motive of their third choice. They diſcovered in the ranks a private ſoldier of the name of Conſtantine; and their impetuous levity had already ſeated him on the throne, before they

Conſtantine is acknowledged in Britain and Gaul, A. D. 407.

that, in one of theſe Iriſh inroads, the future apoſtle was led away captive (Uſher, Antiquit. Eccleſ. Britann. p. 431. and Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xvi. p. 456. 782, &c.).

(95) The Britiſh uſurpers are taken from Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 371—375.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 576, 577.), Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 180, 181.), the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, and the Chronicles. The Latins are ignorant of Marcus.

hey perceived his incapacity to ſuſtain the weight f that glorious appellation (96). Yet the au- hority of Conſtantine was leſs precarious, and is government was more ſucceſsful, than the ranſient reigns of Marcus and of Gratian. The anger of leaving his inactive troops in thoſe amps, which had been twice polluted with lood and ſedition, urged him to attempt the eduction of the Weſtern provinces. He land- d at Boulogne with an inconſiderable force; nd after he had repoſed himſelf ſome days, he ummoned the cities of Gaul, which had eſcaped e yoke of the Barbarians, to acknowledge their wful ſovereign. They obeyed the ſummons ithout reluctance. The neglect of the court f Ravenna had abſolved a deſerted people from e duty of allegiance; their actual diſtreſs en- uraged them to accept any circumſtances of ange, without apprehenſion, and, perhaps, ith ſome degree of hope; and they might flat- r themſelves, that the troops, the authority, nd even the name of a Roman emperor, who xed his reſidence in Gaul, would protect the nhappy country from the rage of the Barbari- ns. The firſt ſucceſſes of Conſtantine againſt e detached parties of the Germans, were mag- ified by the voice of adulation into ſplendid and eciſive victories; which the re-union and inſo- nce of the enemy ſoon reduced to their juſt alue. His negociations procured a ſhort and recarious truce; and if ſome tribes of the Bar- arians were engaged, by the liberality of his

(96) Cum in Conſtantino *inconſtantiam* . . . execrarentur (Si- nius Apollinaris, l. v. epiſt. 9. p. 139. edit. ſecund. Sirmond.). t Sidonius might be tempted, by ſo fair a pun, to ſtigmatiſe a nce, who had diſgraced his grandfather.

gifts and promiſes, to undertake the defence of the Rhine, theſe expenſive and uncertain treaties, inſtead of reſtoring the priſtine vigour of the Gallic frontier, ſerved only to diſgrace the majeſty of the prince, and to exhauſt what yet remained of the treaſures of the republic. Elated however with this imaginary triumph, the vain deliverer of Gaul advanced into the provinces of the South, to encounter a more preſſing and perſonal danger. Sarus the Goth was ordered to lay the head of the rebel at the feet of the emperor Honorius; and the forces of Britain and Italy were unworthily conſumed in this domeſtic quarrel. After the loſs of his two braveſt generals, Juſtinian and Nevigaſtes, the former of whom was ſlain in the field of battle, the latter in a peaceful but treacherous interview, Conſtantine fortified himſelf within the walls of Vienna. The place was ineffectually attacked ſeven days; and the Imerial army ſupported, in a precipitate retreat, the ignominy of purchaſing a ſecure paſſage from the freebooters and outlaws of the Alps (97). Thoſe mountains now ſeparated the dominions of two rival monarchs: and the fortifications of the double frontier were guarded by the troops of the empire, whoſe arms would have been more uſefully employed to maintain the Roman limits againſt the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia.

He reduces Spain, A. D. 408.

On the ſide of the Pyrenees, the ambition of Conſtantine might be juſtified by the proximity of danger; but his throne was ſoon eſtabliſhed by

(97) *Bagaudæ* is the name which Zoſimus applies to them; perhaps they deſerved a leſs odious character (ſee Dubos, Hiſt. Critique, tom. i. p. 203. and this Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 429. third edit.). We ſhall hear of them again.

by the conqueſt, or rather ſubmiſſion, of Spain; which yielded to the influence of regular and habitual ſubordination, and received the laws and magiſtrates of the Gallic præfecture. The only oppoſition which was made to the authority of Conſtantine, proceeded not ſo much from the powers of government, or the ſpirit of the people, as from the private zeal and intereſt of the family of Theodoſius. Four brothers (98) had obtained, by the favour of their kinſman, the deceaſed emperor, an honourable rank, and ample poſſeſſions, in their native country: and the grateful youths reſolved to riſk thoſe advantages in the ſervice of his ſon. After an unſucceſsful effort to maintain their ground at the head of the ſtationary troops of Luſitania, they retired to their eſtates; where they armed and levied, at their own expence, a conſiderable body of ſlaves and dependents, and boldly marched to occupy the ſtrong poſts of the Pyrenæan mountains. This domeſtic inſurrection alarmed and perplexed the ſovereign of Gaul and Britain; and he was compelled to negociate with ſome troops of Barbarian auxiliaries, for the ſervice of the Spaniſh war. They were diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Honorians* (99); a name which might have reminded them of their fidelity to their

(98) Verinianus, Didymus, Theodoſius, and Lagodius, who, in modern courts, would be ſtyled princes of the blood, were not diſtinguiſhed by any rank or privileges above the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects.

(99) Theſe *Honoriani*, or *Honoriaci*, conſiſted of two bands of Scots, or Attacotti, two of Moors, two of Marcomanni, the Victores, the Aſcarii, and the Gallicani (Notitia Imperii, ſect. xxxviii. edit. Lab.). They were part of the ſixty-five *Auxilia Palatina*, and are properly ſtyled, ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τάξεις, by Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 374.).

their lawful ſovereign; and if it ſhould candidly be allowed that the *Scots* were influenced by any partial affection for a Britiſh prince, the *Moors* and the *Marcomanni* could be tempted only by the profuſe liberality of the uſurper, who diſtributed among the Barbarians the military, and even the civil, honours of Spain. The nine bands of *Honorians*, which may be eaſily traced on the eſtabliſhment of the Weſtern empire, could not exceed the number of five thouſand men; yet this inconſiderable force was ſufficient to terminate a war, which had threatened the power and ſafety of Conſtantine. The ruſtic army of the Theodoſian family was ſurrounded and deſtroyed in the Pyrenees: two of the brothers had the good fortune to eſcape by ſea to Italy, or the Eaſt; the other two, after an interval of ſuſpence, were executed at Arles; and if Honorius could remain inſenſible of the public diſgrace, he might perhaps be affected by the perſonal misfortunes of his generous kinſmen. Such were the feeble arms which decided the poſſeſſion of the Weſtern provinces of Europe, from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules. The events of peace and war have undoubtedly been diminiſhed by the narrow and imperfect view of the hiſtorians of the times, who were equally ignorant of the cauſes, and of the effects, of the moſt important revolutions. But the total decay of the national ſtrength had annihilated even the the laſt reſource of a deſpotic government; and the revenue of exhauſted provinces could no longer purchaſe the military ſervice of a diſcontented and puſillanimous people.

The

The poet, whoſe flattery has aſcribed to the Roman eagle the victories of Pollentia and Verona, purſues the haſty retreat of Alaric, from the confines of Italy, with a horrid train of imaginary ſpectres, ſuch as might hover over an army of Barbarians, which was almoſt exterminated by war, famine, and diſeaſe (100). In the courſe of this unfortunate expedition, the king of the Goths muſt indeed have ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs; and his haraſſed forces required an interval of repoſe to recruit their numbers, and revive their confidence. Adverſity had exerciſed, and diſplayed, the genius of Alaric; and the fame of his valour invited, to the Gothic ſtandard, the braveſt of the Barbarian warriors; who, from the Euxine to the Rhine, were agitated by the deſire of rapine and conqueſt. He had deſerved the eſteem, and he ſoon accepted the friendſhip, of Stilicho himſelf. Renouncing the ſervice of the emperor of the Eaſt, Alaric concluded, with the court of Ravenna, a treaty of peace and alliance, by which he was declared maſter-general of the Roman armies throughout the præfecture of Illyricum; as it was claimed, according to the true and ancient limits, by the miniſter of Honorius (101). The execution of the ambitious deſign, which was either ſtipulated, or implied, in the articles of the treaty, appears to have been ſuſpended by the formidable irruption of Radagaiſus; and the neutrality of the Gothic

Negociation of Alaric and Stilicho, A. D. 404–408.

(100) ——— Comitatur euntem
Pallor, et atra fames; et ſaucia lividus ora
Luctus; et inferni ſtridentes agmine morbi.
Claudion in vi Conſ. Hon. 321, &c.

(101) Theſe dark tranſactions are inveſtigated by the Count de Buat (Hiſt. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. c. iii—viii. p. 69—206.), whoſe laborious accuracy may ſometimes fatigue a ſuperficial reader.

Gothic king may perhaps be compared to the indifference of Cæſar, who, in the conſpiracy of Catiline, refuſed either to aſſiſt, or to oppoſe, the enemy of the republic. After the defeat of the Vandals, Stilicho reſumed his pretenſions to the provinces of the Eaſt; appointed civil magiſtrates for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and of the finances; and declared his impatience to lead, to the gates of Conſtantinople, the united armies of the Romans and of the Goths. The prudence however of Stilicho, his averſion to civil war, and his perfect knowledge of the weakneſs of the ſtate, may countenance the ſuſpicion, that domeſtic peace, rather than foreign conqueſt, was the object of his policy; and, that his principal care was to employ the forces of Alaric at a diſtance from Italy. This deſign could not long eſcape the penetration of the Gothic king, who continued to hold a doubtful, and, perhaps a treacherous, correſpondence with the rival courts; who protracted, like a diſſatisfied mercenary, his languid operations in Theſſaly and Epirus, and who ſoon returned to claim the extravagant reward of his ineffectual ſervices. From his camp near Æmona (102), on the confines of Italy, he tranſmitted to the emperor of the Weſt, a long account of promiſes, of expences, and of demands; called for immediate ſatisfaction, and clearly intimated the conſequences of a refuſal. Yet if his conduct was hoſtile, his language was decent and dutiful. He humbly profeſſed

(102) See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 334, 335. He interrupts his ſcanty narrative, to relate the fable of Æmona, and of the ſhip Argo; which was drawn over land from that place to the Hadriatic. Sozomen (l. viii. c. 25. l. ix. c. 4.) and Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.) caſt a pale and doubtful light; and Oroſius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571.) is abominably partial.

profeſſed himſelf the friend of Stilicho, and the ſoldier of Honorius; offered his perſon and his troops to march, without delay, againſt the uſurper of Gaul; and ſolicited, as a permanent retreat for the Gothic nation, the poſſeſſion of ſome vacant province of the Weſtern empire.

Debates of the Roman ſenate, A. D. 408.

The political and ſecret tranſactions of two ſtateſmen, who laboured to deceive each other and the world, muſt for ever have been concealed in the impenetrable darkneſs of the cabinet, if the debates of a popular aſſembly had not thrown ſome rays of light on the correſpondence of Alaric and Stilicho. The neceſſity of finding ſome artificial ſupport for a government, which, from a principle, not of moderation, but of weakneſs, was reduced to negociate with its own ſubjects, had inſenſibly revived the authority of the Roman ſenate: and the miniſter of Honorius reſpectfully conſulted the legiſlative council of the republic. Stilicho aſſembled the ſenate in the palace of the Cæſars; repreſented, in a ſtudied oration, the actual ſtate of affairs; propoſed the demands of the Gothic king, and ſubmitted to their conſideration the choice of peace or war. The ſenators, as if they had been ſuddenly awakened from a dream of four hundred years, appeared on this important occaſion to be inſpired by the courage, rather than by the wiſdom, of their predeceſſors. They loudly declared, in regular ſpeeches, or in tumultuary acclamations, that it was unworthy of the majeſty of Rome, to purchaſe a precarious and diſgraceful truce from a Barbarian king; and that, in the judgment of a magnanimous people, the chance of ruin was always preferable to the certainty of diſhonour. The miniſter, whoſe pacific intentions were ſeconded only by the voices

voices of a few ſervile and venal followers, attempted to allay the general ferment, by an apology for his own conduct, and even for the demands of the Gothic prince. "The payment of a ſubſidy, which had excited the indignation of the Romans, ought not (ſuch was the language of Stilicho) to be conſidered in the odious light, either of a tribute, or of a ranſom, extorted by the menaces of a Barbarian enemy. Alaric had faithfully aſſerted the juſt pretenſions of the republic to the provinces which were uſurped by the Greeks of Conſtantinople: he modeſtly required the fair and ſtipulated recompence of his ſervices; and if he had deſiſted from the proſecution of his enterpriſe, he had obeyed, in his retreat, the peremptory, though private, letters of the emperor himſelf. Theſe contradictory orders (he would not diſſemble the errors of his own family) had been procured by the interceſſion of Serena. The tender piety of his wife had been too deeply affected by the diſcord of the royal brothers, the ſons of her adopted father; and the ſentiments of nature had too eaſily prevailed over the ſtern dictates of the public welfare." Theſe oſtenſible reaſons, which faintly diſguiſe the obſcure intrigues of the palace of Ravenna, were ſupported by the authority of Stilicho; and obtained, after a warm debate, the reluctant approbation of the ſenate. The tumult of virtue and freedom ſubſided; and the ſum of four thouſand pounds of gold was granted, under the name of a ſubſidy, to ſecure the peace of Italy, and to concilitate the friendſhip of the king of the Goths. Lampadius alone, one of the moſt illuſtrious members of the aſſemby, ſtill perſiſted in his diſſent; exclaimed

claimed with a loud voice, "This is not a treaty "of peace, but of ſervitude (102);" and eſcaped the danger of ſuch bold oppoſition by immediately retiring to the ſanctuary of a Chriſtian church.

But the reign of Stilicho drew towards its end; and the proud miniſter might perceive the ſymptoms of his approaching diſgrace. The generous boldneſs of Lampadius had been applauded; and the ſenate, ſo patiently reſigned to a long ſervitude, rejected with diſdain the offer of inviduous and imaginary freedom. The troops, who ſtill aſſumed the name and prerogative of the Roman legions, were exaſperated by the partial affection of Stilicho for the Barbarians: and the people imputed to the miſchievous policy of the miniſter, the public misfortunes, which were the natural conſequence of their own degeneracy. Yet Stilicho might have continued to brave the clamours of the people, and even of the ſoldiers, if he could have maintained his dominion over the feeble mind of his pupil. But the reſpectful attachment of Honorius was converted into fear, ſuſpicion, and hatred. The crafty Olympius (103), who concealed his vices under

Intrigues of the palace, A.D. 408. May.

(102) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 338, 339. He repeats the words of Lampadius, as they were ſpoke in Latin; "Non eſt iſta pax, ſed pactio ſervitutis," and then tranſlates them into Greek for the benefit of his readers.

(103) He came from the coaſt of the Euxine, and exerciſed a ſplendid office, λαμπρας δε γραπειας εν τοις βασιλειοις αξιωμενος. His actions juſtify his character, which Zoſimus (l. v. p. 340.) expoſes with viſible ſatisfaction. Auguſtin revered the piety of Olympius, whom he ſtyles a true ſon of the church (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 408. No. 19, &c. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 467, 468.). But theſe praiſes, which the African ſaint ſo unworthily beſtows, might proceed, as well from ignorance, as from adulation.

under the maſk of Chriſtian piety, had ſecretly undermined the benefactor, by whoſe favour he was promoted to the honourable offices of the Imperial palace. Olympius revealed to the unſuſpecting emperor, who had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age, that he was without weight, or authority, in his own government; and artfully alarmed his timid and indolent diſpoſition by a lively picture of the deſigns of Stilicho, who already meditated the death of his ſovereign, with the ambitious hope of placing the diadem on the head of his ſon Eucherius. The emperor was inſtigated, by his new favourite, to aſſume the tone of independent dignity; and the miniſter was aſtoniſhed to find, that ſecret reſolutions were formed in the court and council, which were repugnant to his intereſt, or to his intentions. Inſtead of reſiding in the palace of Rome, Honorius declared, that it was his pleaſure to return to the ſecure fortreſs of Ravenna. On the firſt intelligence of the death of his brother Arcadius, he prepared to viſit Conſtantinople, and to regulate, with the authority of a guardian, the provinces of the infant Theodoſius (104). The repreſentation of the difficulty and expence of ſuch a diſtant expedition, checked this ſtrange and ſudden ſally of active diligence; but the dangerous project of ſhewing the emperor to the camp of Pavia, which was compoſed of the Roman troops, the enemies of Stilicho, and his Barbarian auxiliaries, remained fixed and unalterable. The miniſter was preſſed, by the advice of his confident Juſtinian, a Roman advocate,

(104) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 338, 339. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 4. Stilicho offered to undertake the journey to Conſtantinople, that he might divert Honorius from the vain attempt. The Eaſtern empire would not have obeyed, and could not have been conquered.

advocate, of a lively and penetrating genius, to oppoſe a journey ſo prejudicial to his reputation and ſafety. His ſtrenuous, but ineffectual, efforts confirmed the triumph of Olympius; and the prudent lawyer withdrew himſelf from the impending ruin of his patron.

In the paſſage of the emperor through Bologna, a mutiny of the guards was excited and appeaſed by the ſecret policy of Stilicho; who announced his inſtructions to decimate the guilty, and aſcribed to his own interceſſion the merit of their pardon. After this tumult, Honorius embraced, for the laſt time, the miniſter whom he now conſidered as a tyrant, and proceeded on his way to the camp of Pavia; where he was received by the loyal acclamations of the troops who were aſſembled for the ſervice of the Gallic war. On the morning of the fourth day, he pronounced, as he had been taught, a military oration in the preſence of the ſoldiers, whom the charitable viſits, and artful diſcourſes of Olympius had prepared to execute a dark and bloody conſpiracy. At the firſt ſignal they maſſacred the friends of Stilicho, the moſt illuſtrious officers of the empire; two prætorian præfects, of Gaul, and of Italy; two maſters-general, of the cavalry, and infantry; the maſter of the offices; the quæſtor, the treaſurer, and the count of the domeſtics. Many lives were loſt; many houſes were plundered; the furious ſedition continued to rage till the cloſe of the evening; and the trembling emperor, who was ſeen in the ſtreets of Pavia, without his robes or diadem, yielded to the perſuaſions of his favourite; condemned the memory of the ſlain; and ſolemnly approved the innocence and fidelity of their aſſaſſins. The intelligence of the maſſacre of Pavia filled the mind of Stilicho with juſt and gloomy apprehenſions:

Diſgrace and death of Stilicho, A. D. 408, Auguſt 23.

henſions: and he inſtantly ſummoned, in the camp of Bologna, a council of the confederate leaders, who were attached to his ſervice, and would be involved in his ruin. The impetuous voice of the aſſembly called aloud for arms, and for revenge; to march, without a moment's delay, under the banners of a hero, whom they had ſo often followed to victory; to ſurpriſe, to oppreſs, to extirpate the guilty Olympius, and his degenerate Romans; and perhaps to fix the diadem on the head of their injured general. Inſtead of executing a reſolution, which might have been juſtified by ſucceſs, Stilicho heſitated till he was irrecoverably loſt. He was ſtill ignorant of the fate of the emperor; he diſtruſted the fidelity of his own party; and he viewed with horror the fatal conſequences of arming a crowd of licentious Barbarians, againſt the ſoldiers and people of Italy. The confederates, impatient of his timorous and doubtful delay, haſtily retired, with fear and indignation. At the hour of midnight, Sarus, a Gothic warrior, renowned among the Barbarians themſelves for his ſtrength and valour, ſuddenly invaded the camp of his benefactor, plundered the baggage, cut in pieces the faithful Huns, who guarded his perſon, and penetrated to the tent, where the miniſter, penſive and ſleepleſs, meditated on the dangers of his ſituation. Stilicho eſcaped with difficulty from the ſword of the Goths; and, after iſſuing a laſt and generous admonition to the cities of Italy, to ſhut their gates againſt the Barbarians, his confidence, or his deſpair, urged him to throw himſelf into Ravenna, which was already in the abſolute poſſeſſion of his enemies. Olympius, who had aſſumed the dominion of Honorius, was ſpeedily informed, that his rival had embraced, as a ſuppliant, the altar of the Chriſtian church. The baſe

aſe and cruel diſpoſition of the hypocrite was in-
apable of pity or remorſe; but he piouſly af-
ected to elude, rather than to violate the privilege
f the ſanctuary. Count Heraclian, with a troop
f ſoldiers, appeared, at the dawn of day, be-
ore the gates of the church of Ravenna. The
iſhop was ſatisfied by a ſolemn oath, that the
mperial mandate only directed them to ſecure
he perſon of Stilicho: but as ſoon as the unfor-
unate miniſter had been tempted beyond the
oly threſhold, he produced the warrant for his
nſtant execution. Stilicho ſupported, with calm
eſignation, the injurious names of traitor and
arricide; repreſſed the unſeaſonable zeal of his
ollowers, who were ready to attempt an ineffec-
ual reſcue; and with a firmneſs not unworthy
f the laſt of the Roman generals, ſubmitted his
eck to the ſword of Heraclian (105).

His memory perſecuted.

The ſervile crowd of the palace, who had ſo
ong adored the fortune of Stilicho, affected to
nſult his fall; and the moſt diſtant connexion
ith the maſter-general of the Weſt, which had
o lately been a title to wealth and honours, was
udiouſly denied, and rigorouſly puniſhed. His
amily, united by a triple alliance with the fa-
nily of Theodoſius, might envy the condition
f the meaneſt peaſant. The flight of his ſon
ucherius was intercepted; and the death of that
nnocent youth ſoon followed the divorce of
hermantia, who filled the place of her ſiſter
aria; and who, like Maria, had remained a
virgin

(105) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 336—345.) has copiouſly, though not
learly, related the diſgrace and death of Stilicho. Olympiodo-
us (apud Phot. p. 177.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571, 572.),
ozomen (l. ix. c. 4.), and Philoſtorgius (l. xi. c. 3. l. xii. c. 2.),
ford ſupplemental hints.

virgin in the Imperial bed (106). The friends of Stilicho, who had eſcaped the maſſacre of Pavia, were perſecuted by the implacable revenge of Olympius; and the moſt exquiſite cruelty was employed to extort the confeſſion of a treaſonable and ſacrilegious conſpiracy. They died in ſilence: their firmneſs juſtified the choice (107), and perhaps abſolved the innocence, of their patron; and the deſpotic power, which could take his life without a trial, and ſtigmatiſe his memory without a proof, has no juriſdiction over the impartial ſuffrage of poſterity (108). The ſervices of Stilicho are great and manifeſt; his crimes, as they are vaguely ſtated in the language of flattery and hatred, are obſcure, at leaſt, and improbable. About four months after his death, an edict was publiſhed, in the name of Honorius, to reſtore the free communication of the two empires, which had been ſo long interrupted by the *public enemy* (109). The miniſter, whoſe fame and fortune depended on the proſperity of the ſtate, was accuſed of betraying Italy to the Barbarians; whom he repeatedly vanquiſhed at Pollentia,

(106) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 333. The marriage of a Chriſtian with two ſiſters, ſcandaliſes Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 557.); who expects, in vain, that pope Innocent I. ſhould have done ſomething in the way, either of cenſure, or of diſpenſation.

(107) Two of his friends are honourably mentioned (Zoſimus, l. v. p. 346.): Peter, chief of the ſchool of notaries, and the great chamberlain Deuterius. Stilicho had ſecured the bed-chamber; and it is ſurpriſing, that, under a feeble prince, the bed-chamber was not able to ſecure him.

(108) Oroſius (l. vii. c. 38. p. 571, 572.) ſeems to copy the falſe and furious manifeſtos, which were diſperſed through the provinces by the new adminiſtration.

(109) See the Theodoſian Code, l. vii. tit. xvi. leg. 1. l. ix. tit. xlii. leg. 22. Stilicho is branded with the name of *praedo publicus*, who employed his wealth, *ad omnem ditandam, inquietandamque Barbariem.*

entia, at Verona, and before the walls of Florence. His pretended deſign of placing the diadem on the head of his ſon Eucherius, could not have been conducted without preparations or accomplices; and the ambitious father would not ſurely have left the future emperor, till the twentieth year of his age, in the humble ſtation of tribune of the notaries. Even the religion of Stilicho was arraigned by the malice of his rival. The ſeaſonable, and almoſt miraculous, deliverance was devoutly celebrated by the applauſe of the clergy; who aſſerted, that the reſtoration of idols, and the perſecution of the church, would have been the firſt meaſure of the reign of Eucherius. The ſon of Stilicho, however, was educated in the boſom of Chriſtianity, which his father had uniformly profeſſed, and zealouſly ſupported (110). Serena had borrowed her magnificent necklace from the ſtatue of Veſta (111); and the Pagans execrated the memory of the ſacrilegious miniſter, by whoſe order the Sibyline books, the oracles of Rome, had been committed to the flames (112). The pride and power of Stilicho conſtituted his real guilt. An honourable reluctance to ſhed the blood of his country-

 men,

(110) Auguſtin himſelf is ſatisfied with the effectual laws, which Stilicho had enacted againſt heretics and idolaters; and which are ſtill extant in the Code. He only applies to Olympius for their confirmation (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 408, No. 19.).

(111) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 351. We may obſerve the bad taſte of the age, in dreſſing their ſtatues with ſuch aukward finery.

(112) See Rutilius Numatianus (Itinerar. l. ii. 41—60.) to whom religious enthuſiaſm has dictated ſome elegant and forcible lines. Stilicho likewiſe ſtripped the gold plates from the doors of the capitol, and read a prophetic ſentence, which was engraved under them (Zoſimus, l. v. p. 352.). Theſe are fooliſh ſtories: yet the charge of *impiety* adds weight and credit to the praiſe, which Zoſimus reluctantly beſtows, of his virtues.

men, appears to have contributed to the ſucceſs of his unworthy rival; and it is the laſt humiliation of the character of Honorius, that poſterity has not condeſcended to reproach him with his baſe ingratitude to the guardian of his youth, and the ſupport of his empire.

The poet Claudian.

Among the train of dependents, whoſe wealth and dignity attracted the notice of their own times, *our* curioſity is excited by the celebrated name of the poet Claudian, who enjoyed the favour of Stilicho, and was overwhelmed in the ruin of his patron. The titular offices of tribune and notary fixed his rank in the Imperial court: he was indebted to the powerful interceſſion of Serena for his marriage with a rich heireſs of the province of Africa (113); and the ſtatue of Claudian, erected in the forum of Trajan, was a monument of the taſte and liberality of the Roman ſenate (114). After the praiſes of Stilicho became offenſive and criminal, Claudian was expoſed to the enmity of a powerful and unforgiving courtier, whom he had provoked by the inſolence of wit. He had compared, in a lively epigram, the oppoſite characters of two Prætorian præfects of Italy; he contraſts the innocent repoſe of a philoſopher, who ſometimes reſigned

(113) At the nuptials of Orpheus (a modeſt compariſon!) all the parts of animated nature contributed their various gifts; and the gods themſelves enriched their favourite. Claudian had neither flocks, nor herds, nor vines, or olives. His wealthy bride was heireſs to them all. But he carried to Africa, a recommendatory letter from Serena, his Juno, and was made happy (Epiſt. ii. ad Serenam).

(114) Claudian feels the honour like a man who deſerved it (in præfat. Bell. Get.). The original inſcription, on marble, was found at Rome, in the fifteenth century, in the houſe of Pomponius Lætus. The ſtatue of a poet, far ſuperior to Claudian, ſhould have been erected, during his life-time, by the men of letters, his countrymen, and contemporaries. It was a noble deſign!

reſigned the hours of buſineſs to ſlumber, perhaps to ſtudy; with the intereſted diligence of a rapacious miniſter, indefatigable in the purſuit of unjuſt, or ſacrilegious gain. "How happy, continues Claudian, how happy might it be for the people of Italy, if Mallius could be conſtantly awake, and if Hadrian would always ſleep (115)!" The repoſe of Mallius was not diſturbed by this friendly and gentle admonition; but the cruel vigilance of Hadrian watched the opportunity of revenge, and eaſily obtained, from the enemies of Stilicho, the trifling ſacrifice of an obnoxious poet. The poet concealed himſelf, however, during the tumult of the revolution; and, conſulting the dictates of prudence, rather than of honour, he addreſſed, in the form of an epiſtle, a ſuppliant and humble recantation to the offended præfect. He deplores, in mournful ſtrains, the fatal indiſcretion into which he had been hurried by paſſion and folly; ſubmits to the imitation of his adverſary, the generous examples of the clemency of the gods, of heroes, and of lions; and expreſſes his hope, that the magnanimity of Hadrian will not trample on a defenceleſs and contemptible foe, already humbled by diſgrace and poverty; and deeply wounded by the exile, the tortures, and the death of his deareſt friends (116).

(115) See Epigram xxx.

Mallius indulget ſomno noctesque dieſque:
Inſomnis *Pharius* ſacra, profana, rapit.
Omnibus, hoc, Italæ gentes, expoſcite votis
Mallius ut vigilet, dormiat ut Pharius.

Hadrian was a Pharian (of Alexandria). See his public life in Godefroy, Cod. Theodoſ. tom. vi. p. 364. Mallius did not always ſleep. He compoſed ſome elegant dialogues on the Greek ſyſtems of natural philoſophy (Claud. in Mall. Theodor. Conſ. 61—112).

(116) See Claudian's firſt Epiſtle. Yet, in ſome places, an air of irony and indignation betrays his ſecret reluctance.

Whatever might be the ſucceſs of his prayer, or the accidents of his future life, the period of a few years levelled in the grave the miniſter and the poet: but the name of Hadrian is almoſt ſunk in oblivion, while Claudian is read with pleaſure in every country which has retained, or acquired, the knowledge of the Latin language. If we fairly balance his merits and his defects, we ſhall acknowledge, that Claudian does not either ſatisfy, or ſilence, our reaſon. It would not be eaſy to produce a paſſage that deſerves the epithet of ſublime or pathetic; to ſelect a a verſe, that melts the heart, or enlarges the imagination. We ſhould vainly ſeek, in the poems of Claudian, the happy invention, and artificial conduct, of an intereſting fable; or the juſt and lively repreſentation of the characters and ſituations of real life. For the ſervice of his patron, he publiſhed occaſional panegyrics and invectives: and the deſign of theſe ſlaviſh compoſitions encouraged his propenſity to exceed the limits of truth and nature. Theſe imperfections, however, are compenſated in ſome degree by the poetical virtues of Claudian. He was endowed with the rare and precious talent of raiſing the meaneſt, of adorning the moſt barren, and of diverſifying the moſt ſimilar, topics: his colouring, more eſpecially in deſcriptive poetry, is ſoft and ſplendid; and he ſeldom fails to diſplay, and even to abuſe, the advantages of a cultivated underſtanding, a copious fancy, an eaſy, and ſometimes forcible, expreſſion; and a perpetual flow of harmonious verſification. To theſe commendations, independent of any accidents of time, and place, we muſt add the peculiar merit which Claudian derived from the unfavourable circumſtances of his

his birth. In the decline of arts, and of empire, a native of Egypt (117), who had received the education of a Greek, aſſumed, in a mature age, the familiar uſe, and abſolute command, of the Latin language (118); ſoared above the heads of his feeble contemporaries; and placed himſelf, after an interval of three hundred years, among the poets of ancient Rome (119).

(117) National vanity has made him a Florentine, or a Spaniard. But the firſt epiſtle of Claudian proves him a native of Alexandria (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. tom. iii. p. 191—202. edit. Erneſt.).

(118) His firſt Latin verſes were compoſed during the conſulſhip of Probinus, A. D. 395.

Romanos bibimus primum, te conſule, fontes
Et Latiæ ceſſit Graia Thalia togæ.

Beſides ſome Greek epigrams, which are ſtill extant, the Latin poet had compoſed in Greek, the Antiquities of Tarſus, Anazarbus, Berytus, Nice, &c. It is more eaſy to ſupply the loſs of good poetry, than of authentic hiſtory.

(119) Strada (Proluſion v, vi.) allows him to contend with the five heroic poets, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius. His patron is the accompliſhed courtier Balthazar Caſtiglione. His admirers are numerous and paſſionate. Yet the rigid critics reproach the exotic weeds, or flowers, which ſpring too luxuriantly in his Latian ſoil.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Invaſion of Italy by Alaric.—Manners of the Roman Senate and People.—Rome is thrice beſieged, and at length pillaged, by the Goths.—Death of Alaric.—The Goths evacuate Italy.—Fall of Conſtantine.—Gaul and Spain are occupied by the Barbarians.—Independence of Britain.

Weakneſs of the court of Ravenna, A. D. 408, September.

THE incapacity of a weak and diſtracted government may often aſſume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a treaſonable correſpondence with the public enemy. If Alaric himſelf had been introduced into the council of Ravenna, he would probably have adviſed the ſame meaſures which were actually purſued by the miniſters of Honorius (1). The king of the Goths would have conſpired, perhaps with ſome reluctance, to deſtroy the formidable adverſary, by whoſe arms, in Italy, as well as in Greece, he had been twice overthrown. *Their* active and intereſted hatred laboriouſly accompliſhed the diſgrace and ruin of the great Stilicho. The valour of Sarus, his fame in arms, and his perſonal, or hereditary, influence over the confederate Barbarians, could recommend him only to the friends of their country, who deſpiſed, or deteſted, the worthleſs characters of Turpilio, Varanes, and Vigilantius. By the preſſing inſtances of the new favourites, theſe generals, unworthy as they had ſhewn themſelves

(1) The ſeries of events, from the death of Stilicho, to the arrival of Alaric before Rome, can only be found in Zoſimus, l. v. p. 347—350.

ſelves of the name of ſoldiers (2), were promoted to the command of the cavalry, of the infantry, and of the domeſtic troops. The Gothic prince would have ſubſcribed with pleaſure the edict which the fanaticiſm of Olympius dictated to the ſimple and devout emperor. Honorius excluded all perſons, who were adverſe to the catholic church, from holding any office in the ſtate; obſtinately rejected the ſervice of all thoſe who diſented from his religion; and raſhly diſqualified many of his braveſt and moſt ſkilful officers, who adhered to the Pagan worſhip, or who had imbibed the opinions of Arianiſm (3). Theſe meaſures, ſo advantageous to an enemy, Alaric would have approved, and might perhaps have ſuggeſted; but it may ſeem doubtful, whether the Barbarian would have promoted his intereſt at the expence of the inhuman and abſurd cruelty, which was perpetrated by the direction, or at leaſt with the connivance, of the Imperial miniſters. The foreign auxiliaries, who had been attached to the perſon of Stilicho, lamented his death; but the deſire of revenge was checked by a natural apprehenſion for the ſafety of their wives and children; who were detained as hoſtages in the ſtrong cities of Italy, where they had likewiſe depoſited their moſt valuable effects. At the ſame hour, and as if by a common ſignal, the cities of Italy were polluted

(2) The expreſſion of Zoſimus is ſtrong and lively, καταφρονησιν εμποιησαι τοις πολεμιοις αρχοντας, ſufficient to excite the contempt of the enemy.

(3) Eos qui catholicæ ſectæ ſunt inimici, intra palatium militare prohibemus. Nullus nobis ſit aliquâ ratione conjunctus, qui a nobis fide et religione diſcordat. Cod. Theodoſ. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 42. and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 164. This law was applied in the utmoſt latitude, and rigorouſly executed. l. v. p. 364.

luted by the ſame horrid ſcenes of univerſal maſſacre and pillage, which involved, in promiſcuous deſtruction, the families and fortunes of the Barbarians. Exaſperated by ſuch an injury, which might have awakened the tameſt and moſt ſervile ſpirit, they caſt a look of indignation and hope towards the camp of Alaric, and unanimouſly ſwore to purſue, with juſt and implacable war, the perfidious nation, that had ſo baſely violated the laws of hoſpitality. By the imprudent conduct of the miniſters of Honorius, the republic loſt the aſſiſtance, and deſerved the enmity, of thirty thouſand of her braveſt ſoldiers: and the weight of that formidable army, which alone might have determined the event of the war, was transferred from the ſcale of the Romans into that of the Goths.

Alaric marches to Rome, A. D. 408, October, &c.

In the arts of negociation, as well as in thoſe of war, the Gothic king maintained his ſuperior aſcendant over an enemy, whoſe ſeeming changes proceeded from the total want of counſel and deſign. From his camp, on the confines of Italy, Alaric attentively obſerved the revolutions of the palace, watched the progreſs of faction and diſcontent, diſguiſed the hoſtile aſpect of a Barbarian invader, and aſſumed the more popular appearance of the friend and ally of the great Stilicho; to whoſe virtues, when they were no longer formidable, he could pay a juſt tribute of ſincere praiſe and regret. The preſſing invitation of the malcontents, who urged the king of the Goths to invade Italy, was enforced by a lively ſenſe of his perſonal injuries; and he might ſpeciouſly complain, that the Imperial miniſters ſtill delayed and eluded the payment of the four thouſand pounds of gold; which had been granted by the Roman ſenate,

either

either to reward his ſervices, or to appeaſe his fury. His decent firmneſs was ſupported by an artful moderation, which contributed to the ſucceſs of his deſigns. He required a fair and reaſonable ſatisfaction; but he gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that, as ſoon as he had obtained it, he would immediately retire. He refuſed to truſt the faith of the Romans, unleſs Ætius and Jaſon, the ſons of two great officers of ſtate, were ſent as hoſtages to his camp: but he offered to deliver, in exchange, ſeveral of the nobleſt youths of the Gothic nation. The modeſty of Alaric was interpreted, by the miniſters of Ravenna, as a ſure evidence of his weakneſs and fear. They diſdained either to negociate a treaty, or to aſſemble an army; and with a raſh confidence, derived only from their ignorance of the extreme danger, irretrievably waſted the deciſive moments of peace and war. While they expected, in ſullen ſilence, that the Barbarians ſhould evacuate the confines of Italy, Alaric, with bold and rapid marches, paſſed the Alps and the Po; haſtily pillaged the cities of Aquileia, Altinum, Concordia, and Cremona, which yielded to his arms; increaſed his forces by the acceſſion of thirty thouſand auxiliaries; and, without meeting a ſingle enemy in the field, advanced as far as the edge of the moraſs which protected the impregnable reſidence of the emperor of the Weſt. Inſtead of attempting the hopeleſs ſiege of Ravenna, the prudent leader of the Goths proceeded to Rimini, ſtretched his ravages along the ſea coaſt of the Hadriatic, and meditated the conqueſt of the ancient miſtreſs of the world. An Italian hermit, whoſe zeal and ſanctity were reſpected by the Barbarians themſelves, encountered the victorious monarch, and boldly

boldly denounced the indignation of heaven againſt the oppreſſors of the earth: but the ſaint himſelf was confounded by the ſolemn aſſeveration of Alaric, that he felt a ſecret and præternatural impulſe, which directed, and even compelled, his march to the gates of Rome. He felt, that his genius and his fortune were equal to the moſt arduous enterpriſes; and the enthuſiaſm which he communicated to the Goth, inſenſibly removed the popular, and almoſt ſuperſtitious, reverence of the nations for the majeſty of the Roman name. His troops, animated by the hopes of ſpoil, followed the courſe of the Flaminian way, occupied the unguarded paſſes of the Apennine (4), deſcended into the rich plains of Umbria; and, as they lay encamped on the banks of the Clitumnus, might wantonly ſlaughter and devour the milk-white oxen, which had been ſo long reſerved for the uſe of Roman triumphs (5). A lofty ſituation, and a ſeaſonable tempeſt of thunder and lightning, preſerved the little city of Narni; but the king of the Goths, deſpiſing the ignoble prey, ſtill advanced with unabated vigour; and after he had paſſed through the ſtately arches, adorned with the ſpoils

(4) Addiſon (ſee his Works, vol. ii. p. 54. edit. Baſkerville) has given a very picturesque deſcription of the road through the Apennine. The Goths were not at leiſure to obſerve the beauties of the proſpect; but they were pleaſed to find that the Saxa Intercifa, a narrow paſſage which Veſpaſian had cut through the rock (Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. i. p. 618.), was totally neglected.

(5) Hinc albi, Clitumne, greges, et maxima Taurus
Victima; ſæpe tuo perfuſi flumine ſacro
Romanos ad templa Deum duxere Triumphos.

Beſides Virgil, moſt of the Latin poets, Propertius, Lucan, Silius Italicus, Claudian, &c. whoſe paſſages may be found in Cluverius and Addiſon, have celebrated the triumphal victims of the Clitumnus.

ſpoils of Barbaric victories, he pitched his camp under the walls of Rome (6).

During a period of ſix hundred and nineteen years, the ſeat of empire had never been violated by the preſence of a foreign enemy. The unſucceſsful expedition of Hannibal (7), ſerved only to diſplay the character of the ſenate and people; of a ſenate degraded, rather than ennobled, by the compariſon of an aſſembly of kings; and of a people, to whom the ambaſſador of Pyrrhus aſcribed the inexhauſtible reſources of the Hydra (8). Each of the ſenators, in the time of the Punic war, had accompliſhed his term of military ſervice, either in a ſubordinate or a ſuperior ſtation; and the decree, which inveſted with temporary command all thoſe who had been conſuls, or cenſors, or dictators, gave the republic the immediate aſſiſtance of many brave and experienced generals. In the beginning of the war, the Roman people conſiſted of two hundred and fifty thouſand citizens of an age to bear arms (9). Fifty thouſand had already

Hannibal at the gates of Rome.

(6) Some ideas of the march of Alaric are borrowed from the journey of Honorius over the ſame ground. (See Claudian in vi Conſ. Hon. 494—522.) The meaſured diſtance between Ravenna and Rome, was 254 Roman miles. Itinerar. Weſſeling. p. 126.

(7) The march and retreat of Hannibal are deſcribed by Livy, l. xxvi. c. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.; and the reader is made a ſpectator of the intereſting ſcene.

(8) Theſe compariſons were uſed by Cyneas, the counſellor of Pyrrhus, after his return from his embaſſy, in which he had diligently ſtudied the diſcipline and manners of Rome. See Plutarch in Pyrrho, tom. ii. p. 459.

(9) In the three *cenſus* which were made of the Roman people, about the time of the ſecond Punic war, the numbers ſtand as follows (ſee Livy, Epitom. l. xx. Hiſt. l. xxvii. 36. xxix. 37.), 270,213, 137,108, 214,000. The fall of the ſecond, and the riſe of the third, appears ſo enormous, that ſeveral critics, notwithſtanding the unanimity of the MSS. have ſuſpected ſome corruption

ready died in the defence of their country; and the twenty-three legions which were employed in the different camps of Italy, Greece, Sardinia, Sicily, and Spain, required about one hundred thouſand men. But there ſtill remained an equal number in Rome, and the adjacent territory, who were animated by the ſame intrepid courage; and every citizen was trained, from his earlieſt youth, in the diſcipline and exerciſes of a ſoldier. Hannibal was aſtoniſhed by the conſtancy of the ſenate, who, without raiſing the ſiege of Capua, or recalling their ſcattered forces, expected his approach. He encamped on the banks of the Anio, at the diſtance of three miles from the city: and he was ſoon informed, that the ground on which he had pitched his tent, was ſold for an adequate price at a public auction; and that a body of troops was diſmiſſed by an oppoſite road, to reinforce the legions of Spain (10). He led his Africans to the gates of Rome, where he found three armies in order of battle, prepared to receive him; but Hannibal dreaded the event of a combat, from which he could not hope to eſcape, unleſs he deſtroyed the laſt of his enemies; and his ſpeedy retreat confeſſed the invincible courage of the Romans.

From

ruption of the text of Livy. (See Drakenborch ad xxvii. 36. and Beaufort, Republique Romaine, tom. i. p. 325.) They did not conſider that the ſecond *cenſus* was taken only at Rome, and that the numbers were diminiſhed, not only by the death, but likewiſe by the *abſence*, of many ſoldiers. In the third *cenſus*, Livy expreſsly affirms, that the legions were muſtered by the care of particular commiſſaries. From the numbers on the liſt, we muſt always deduct one twelfth above threeſcore, and incapable of bearing arms. See Population de la France, p. 72.

(10) Livy conſiders theſe two incidents as the effects only of chance and courage. I ſuſpect that they were both managed by the admirable policy of the ſenate.

From the time of the Punic war, the uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſenators had preſerved the name and image of the republic; and the degenerate ſubjects of Honorius ambitiouſly derived their deſcent from the heroes who had repulſed the arms of Hannibal, and ſubdued the nations of the earth. The temporal honours, which the devout Paula (11) inherited and deſpiſed, are carefully recapitulated by Jerom, the guide of her conſcience, and the hiſtorian of her life. The genealogy of her father, Rogatus, which aſcended as high as Agamemnon, might ſeem to betray a Grecian origin; but her mother Blæſilla, numbered the Scipios, Æmilius Paulus, and the Gracchi, in the liſt of her anceſtors; and Toxotius, the huſband of Paula, deduced his royal lineage from Æneas, the father of the Julian line. The vanity of the rich, who deſired to be noble, was gratified by theſe lofty pretenſions. Encouraged by the applauſe of their paraſites, they eaſily impoſed on the credulity of the vulgar; and were countenanced, in ſome meaſure, by the cuſtom of adopting the name of their patron, which had always prevailed among the freedmen and clients of illuſtrious families. Moſt of thoſe families, however, attacked by ſo many cauſes of external violence or internal decay, were gradually extirpated: and it would be more reaſonable to ſeek for a lineal deſcent of twenty generations, among the mountains of the Alps,

Genealogy of the ſenators.

(11) See Jerom, tom. i. p. 169, 170. ad Eſtochium; he beſtows on Paula the ſplendid titles of Gracchorum ſtirps, ſoboles Scipionum, Pauli hæres, cujus vocabulum trahit, Martiæ Papyriæ Matris Africani vera et germana propago. This particular deſcription ſuppoſes a more ſolid title than the ſurname of Julius, which Toxotius ſhared with a thouſand families of the Weſtern provinces. See the Index of Tacitus, of Gruter's Inſcriptions, &c.

Alps, or in the peaceful ſolitude of Apulia, than on the theatre of Rome, the ſeat of fortune, of danger, and of perpetual revolutions. Under each ſucceſſive reign, and from every province of the empire, a crowd of hardy adventurers, riſing to eminence by their talents or their vices, uſurped the wealth, the honours, and the palaces of Rome; and oppreſſed, or protected, the poor and humble remains of conſular families; who were ignorant, perhaps, of the glory of their anceſtors (12).

The Anician family. In the time of Jerom and Claudian, the ſenators unanimouſly yielded the pre-eminence to the Anician line; and a ſlight view of *their* hiſtory will ſerve to appreciate the rank and antiquity of the noble families, which contended only for the ſecond place (13). During the five firſt ages of the city, the name of the Anicians was unknown; they appear to have derived their origin from Prænеſte; and the ambition of thoſe new citizens was long ſatisfied with the Plebeian honours of tribunes of the people (14). One

(12) Tacitus (Annal. iii. 55.) affirms, that, between the battle of Actium and the reign of Veſpaſian, the ſenate was gradually filled with *new* families, from the Municipia and colonies of Italy.

(13) Nec quiſquam Procerum tentet (licet ære vetuſto
Floreat, et claro cingatur Roma ſenatû)
Se jactare parem; ſed primâ ſede relictâ
Auchenиis, de jure licet certare ſecundo.
Claud. in Prob. et Olybrii Coſſ. 18.

Such a compliment paid to the obſcure name of the Auchenii has amazed the critics; but they all agree, that whatever may be the true reading, the ſenſe of Claudian can be applied only to the Anician family.

(14) The earlieſt date in the annals of Pighius, is that of M. Anicius Gallus. Trib. Pl. A. U. C. 506. Another tribune, Q. Anicius, A. U. C. 508. is diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Prænеſtinus. Livy (xlv. 43.) places the Anicii below the great families of Rome.

One hundred and ſixty-eight years before the Chriſtian æra, the family was ennobled by the Prætorſhip of Anicius, who glorioufly terminated the Illyrian war by the conqueſt of the nation, and the captivity of their king (15). From the triumph of that general, three conſulſhips, in diſtant periods, mark the ſucceſſion of the Anician name (16). From the reign of Diocletian to the final extinction of the Weſtern empire, that name ſhone with a luſtre which was not eclipſed in the public eſtimation, by the majeſty of the Imperial purple (17). The ſeveral branches, to whom it was communicated, united, by marriage or inheritance, the wealth and titles of the Annian, the Petronian, and the Olybrian houſes; and in each generation the number of conſulſhips was multiplied by an hereditary claim (18). The Anician family excelled in faith and in riches: they were the firſt of the Roman ſenate

(15) Livy, xliv. 30. 31. xlv. 3. 26, 43. He fairly appreciates the merit of Anicius, and juſtly obſerves, that his fame was clouded by the ſuperior luſtre of the Macedonian, which preceded the Illyrian, triumph.

(16) The dates of the three conſulſhips are, A. U. C. 593, 818, 967: the two laſt under the reigns of Nero and Caracalla. The ſecond of theſe conſuls diſtinguiſhed himſelf only by his infamous flattery (Tacit. Annal. xv. 74.): but even the evidence of crimes, if they bear the ſtamp of greatneſs and antiquity, is admitted, without reluctance, to prove the genealogy of a noble houſe.

(17) In the ſixth century, the nobility of the Anician name is mentioned (Caſſiodor. Variar. l. x. Ep. 10. 12.) with ſingular reſpect, by the miniſter of a Gothic king of Italy.

(18) ——— Fixus in omnes
Cognatos procedit honos; quemcumque requiras
Hâc de ſtirpe virum, certum eſt de Conſule naſci.
Per faſces numerantur Avi, ſemperque renatâ
Nobilitate virent, et prolem fata ſequuntur.

(Claudian in Prob. et Olyb. Conſulat. 12, &c.) The Annii, whoſe name ſeems to have merged in the Anician, mark the Faſti with many conſulſhips, from the time of Veſpaſian to the fourth century.

ſenate who embraced Chriſtianity; and, it is probable that Anicius Julian, who was afterwards conſul and præfect of the city, atoned for his attachment to the party of Maxentius, by the readineſs with which he accepted the religion of Conſtantine (19). Their ample patrimony was increaſed by the induſtry of Probus, the chief of the Anician family; who ſhared with Gratian the honours of the conſulſhip, and exerciſed four times the high office of Prætorian præfect (20). His immenſe eſtates were ſcattered over the wide extent of the Roman world; and though the public might ſuſpect, or diſapprove, the methods, by which they had been acquired; the generoſity and magnificence of that fortunate ſtateſman deſerved the gratitude of his clients, and the admiration of ſtrangers (21). Such was the reſpect entertained for his memory, that the two ſons of Probus, in their earlieſt youths, and at the requeſt of the ſenate, were aſſociated in the conſular dignity: a memorable diſtinction, without example, in the annals of Rome. (22.)

"The

(19) The title of the firſt Chriſtian ſenator may be juſtified by the authority of Prudentius (in Symmach. i. 553.), and the diſlike of the Pagans to the Anician family. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom iv. p. 183. v. p. 44. Baron. Annal. A. D. 312. No. 78. A. D. 322. No. 2.

(20) Probus ... claritudine generis et potentiâ et opûm magnitudine, cognitus Orbi Romano, per quem univerſum pœne patrimonia ſparſa poſſedit, juſte an ſecus non judicioli eſt noſtri. Ammian. Marcellin. xxvii. 11. His children and widow erected for him a magnificent tomb in the Vatican, which was demoliſhed in the time of pope Nicholas V. to make room for the new church of St. Peter. Baronius, who laments the ruin of this Chriſtian monument, has diligently preſerved the inſcriptions and baſſo-relievos. See Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 395. No. 5—17.

(21) Two Perſian Satraps travelled to Milan and Rome to hear St. Ambroſe, and to ſee Probus (Paulin. in Vit. Ambroſ.). Claudian (in Conſ. Probin. et Olybr. 30—60.) ſeems at a loſs, how to expreſs the glory of Probus.

(22) See the poem which Claudian addreſſed to the two noble youths.

"The marbles of the Anician palace," were uſed as a proverbial expreſſion of opulence and ſplendour (23); but the nobles and ſenators of Rome aſpired, in due gradation, to imitate that illuſtrious family. The accurate deſcription of the city, which was compoſed in the Theodoſian age, enumerates one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty *houſes*, the reſidence of wealthy and honourable citizens (24). Many of theſe ſtately manſions might almoſt excuſe the exaggeration of the poet; that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city; ſince it included within its own precincts, every thing which could be ſubſervient either to uſe or luxury; markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticos, ſhady groves, and artificial aviaries (25). The hiſtorian Olympiodorus, who repreſents the ſtate of Rome when it was beſieged by the Goths (26), continues to obſerve, that ſeveral of the richeſt ſenators received from their eſtates an annual income of four thouſand pounds of gold, above one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling; without computing the ſtated proviſion of corn and wine, which, had they been ſold, might have equalled in value one

Wealth of the Roman nobles.

(23) Secundinus, the Manichæan, ap. Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 390. No. 34.

(24) See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 89. 498. 500.

(25) Quid loquar incluſas inter laquearia ſylvas;
Vernula quæ vario carmine ludit avis.
Claud. Rutil. Numatian. Itinerar. ver. 111.
The poet lived at the time of the Gothic invaſion. A moderate palace would have covered Cincinnatus's farm of four acres (Val. Max. iv. 4.) In laxitatem ruris excurrent, ſays Seneca, Epiſt. 114. See a judicious note of Mr. Hume, Eſſays, vol. i. p. 362. laſt 8vo edition.

(26) This curious account of Rome, in the reign of Honorius, is found in a fragment of the hiſtorian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 197.

third of the money. Compared to this immoderate wealth, an ordinary revenue of a thouſand or fifteen hundred pounds of gold might be conſidered as no more than adequate to the dignity of the ſenatorial rank, which required many expences of a public and oſtentatious kind. Several examples are recorded in the age of Honorius, of vain and popular nobles who celebrated the year of their prætorſhip, by a feſtival, which laſted ſeven days, and coſt above one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling (27). The eſtates of the Roman ſenators, which ſo far exceed the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their poſſeſſions extended far beyond the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, to the moſt diſtant provinces; the city of Nicopolis, which Auguſtus had founded as an eternal monument of the Actian victory, was the property of the devout Paula (28); and it is obſerved by Seneca, that the rivers, which had divided hoſtile nations, that

(27) The ſons of Alypius, of Symmachus, and of Maximus, ſpent, during their reſpective prætorſhips, twelve, or twenty, or forty *centenaries* (or, hundred weight of gold). See Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197. This popular eſtimation allows ſome latitude; but it is difficult to explain a law in the Theodoſian Code (l. vi. leg. 5.), which fixes the expence of the firſt prætor at 25,000, of the ſecond at 20,000, and of the third at 15,000 *folles*. The name of *follis* (ſee Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 727.) was equally applied to a purſe of 125 pieces of ſilver, and to a ſmall copper coin of the value of $\frac{1}{2625}$ part of that purſe. In the former ſenſe, the 25,000 follis would be equal to 150,000l. in the latter to five or ſix pounds ſterling. The one appears extravagant, the other is ridiculous. There muſt have exiſted ſome third, and middle value, which is here underſtood; but ambiguity is an inexcuſable fault in the language of laws.

(28) Nicopolis . . . in Actiaco littore ſita poſſeſſionis veſtræ nunc pars vel maxima eſt. Jerom. in præfat. Comment. ad Epiſtol. ad Titum, tom. ix. p. 243. M. de Tillemont ſuppoſes, ſtrangely enough, that it was part of Agamemnon's inheritance. Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 85.

now flowed through the lands of private citizens (29). According to their temper and circumſtances, the eſtates of the Romans were either cultivated by the labour of their ſlaves, or granted, for a certain and ſtipulated rent, to the induſtrious farmer. The œconomical writers of antiquity ſtrenuouſly recommend the former method, wherever it may be practicable; but if the object ſhould be removed, by its diſtance or magnitude, from the immediate eye of the maſter, they prefer the active care of an old hereditary tenant, attached to the ſoil, and intereſted in the produce, to the mercenary adminiſtration of a negligent, perhaps an unfaithful, ſteward (30).

Their manners.

The opulent nobles of an immenſe capital, who were never excited by the purſuit of military glory, and ſeldom engaged in the occupations of civil government, naturally reſigned their leiſure to the buſineſs and amuſements of private life. At Rome, commerce was always held in contempt: but the ſenators, from the firſt age of the republic, increaſed their patrimony, and multiplied their clients, by the lucrative practice of uſury; and the obſolete laws were eluded or violated, by the mutual inclina-

(29) Seneca, Epiſt. lxxxix. His language is of the declamatory kind: but declamation could ſcarcely exaggerate the avarice and luxury of the Romans. The philoſopher himſelf deſerved ſome ſhare of the reproach; if it be true, that his rigorous exaction of *Quadringenties*, above three hundred thouſand pounds, which he had lent at high intereſt, provoked a rebellion in Britain. (Dion Caſſius, l. lxii. p. 1003.) According to the conjecture of Gale (Antoninus's Itinerary in Britain, p. 92.), the ſame Fauſtinus poſſeſſed an eſtate near Bury, in Suffolk, and another in the kingdom of Naples.

(30) Voluſius, a wealthy ſenator (Tacit. Annal. iii. 30), always preferred tenants born on the eſtate. Columella, who received this maxim from him, argues very judiciouſly on the ſubject. De Re Ruſticâ, l. i. c. 7. p. 408. edit. Geſner. Leipſig, 1735.

tions and intereſt of both parties (31). A conſiderable maſs of treaſure muſt always have exiſted at Rome, either in the current coin of the empire, or in the form of gold and ſilver plate; and there were many ſide-boards in the time of Pliny, which contained more ſolid ſilver, than had been tranſported by Scipio from vanquiſhed Carthage (32). The greater part of the nobles, who diſſipated their fortunes in profuſe luxury, found themſelves poor in the midſt of wealth; and idle in a conſtant round of diſſipation. Their deſires were continually gratified by the labour of a thouſand hands; of the numerous train of their domeſtic ſlaves, who were actuated by the fear of puniſhment; and of the various profeſſions of artificers and merchants, who were more powerfully impelled by the hopes of gain. The ancients were deſtitute of many of the conveniencies of life, which have been invented or improved by the progreſs of induſtry; and the plenty of glaſs and linen has diffuſed more real comforts among the modern nations of Europe, than the ſenators of Rome could derive from all the refinements of pompous or ſenſual luxury (33). Their luxury,

(31) Valeſius (ad Ammian. xiv. 6.) has proved, from Chryſoſtom and Auguſtin, that the ſenators were not allowed to lend money at uſury. Yet it appears from the Theodoſian Code (ſee Godefroy ad l. ii. tit. xxxiii. tom. i. p. 230—289.), that they were permitted to take ſix per cent. or one half of the legal intereſt; and, what is more ſingular, this permiſſion was granted to the *young* ſenators.

(32) Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 50. He ſtates the ſilver at only 4380 pounds, which is increaſed by Livy (xxx. 45.) to 100,023: the former ſeems too little for an opulent city, the latter too much for any private ſide-board.

(33) The learned Arbuthnot (Tables of Ancient Coins, &c. p. 153.) has obſerved with humour, and I believe with truth, that Auguſtus had neither glaſs to his windows, nor a ſhirt to his back. Under the lower empire, the uſe of linen and glaſs became ſomewhat more common.

luxury, and their manners, have been the ſubject of minute and laborious diſquiſition: but as ſuch enquiries would divert me too long from the deſign of the preſent work, I ſhall produce an authentic ſtate of Rome and its inhabitants, which is more peculiarly applicable to the period of the the Gothic invaſion. Ammianus Marcellinus, who prudently choſe the capital of the empire, as the reſidence the beſt adapted to the hiſtorian of his own times, has mixed with the narrative of public events, a lively repreſentation of the ſcenes with which he was familiarly converſant. The judicious reader will not always approve the aſperity of cenſure, the choice of circumſtances, or the ſtyle of expreſſion: he will perhaps detect the latent prejudices, and perſonal reſentments, which ſoured the temper of Ammianus himſelf; but he will ſurely obſerve, with philoſophic curioſity, the intereſting and original picture of the manners of Rome (34)

Character of the Roman nobles, by Ammianus Marcellinus.

"The greatneſs of Rome (ſuch is the language "of the hiſtorian) was founded on the rare, and "almoſt incredible, alliance of virtue and of for- "tune. The long period of her infancy was em- "ployed in a laborious ſtruggle againſt the tribes "of Italy, the neighbours and enemies of the "riſing city. In the ſtrength and ardour of "youth, ſhe ſuſtained the ſtorms of war; car- "ried

(34) It is incumbent on me to explain the liberties which I have taken with the text of Ammianus. 1. I have melted down into one piece, the ſixth chapter of the fourteenth, and the fourth of the twenty-eighth, book. 2. I have given order and connection to the confuſed maſs of materials. 3. I have ſoftened *ſome* extravagant hyperboles, and pared away ſome ſuperfluities of the original. 4. I have developed ſome obſervations which were inſinuated, rather than expreſſed. With theſe allowances, my verſion will be found not literal indeed, but faithful and exact.

"ried her victorious arms beyond the ſeas and "the mountains; and brought home triumphal "laurels from every country of the globe. At "length, verging towards old age, and ſome- "times conquering by the terror only of her "name, ſhe ſought the bleſſings of eaſe and "tranquillity. The VENERABLE CITY, which "had trampled on the necks of the fierceſt na- "tions; and eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem of laws, the "perpetual guardians of juſtice and freedom; "was content, like a wiſe and wealthy parent, "to devolve on the Cæſars, her favourite ſons, "the care of governing her ample patrimo- "ny (35). A ſecure and profound peace, ſuch "as had been once enjoyed in the reign of Nu- "ma, ſucceeded to the tumults of a republic: "while Rome was ſtill adored as the queen of "the earth; and the ſubject nations ſtill reveren- "ced the name of the people, and the majeſty "of the ſenate. But this native ſplendour (con- "tinues Ammianus) is degraded, and ſullied, "by the conduct of ſome nobles; who, un- "mindful of their own dignity, and of that of "their country, aſſume an unbounded licence of "vice and folly. They contend with each other "in the empty vanity of titles and ſurnames; "and curiouſly ſelect, or invent, the moſt lofty "and ſonorous appellations, Reburrus, or Fa- "bunius, Pagonius, or Tarraſius (36), which "may

(35) Claudian, who ſeems to have read the hiſtory of Ammianus, ſpeaks of this great revolution in a much leſs courtly ſtyle:

Poſtquam jura ferox in ſe communia Cæſar
Tranſtulit; et lapſi mores; deſuetaque priſcis
Artibus, in gremium pacis ſervile receſſi.

De Bell. Gildonico, 49.

(36) The minute diligence of antiquarians has not been able to verify theſe extraordinary names. I am of opinion that they were invented

"may impreſs the ears of the vulgar with aſto-
"niſhment and reſpect. From a vain ambition
"of perpetuating their memory, they affect to
"multiply their likeneſs in ſtatues of bronze and
"marble; nor are they ſatisfied, unleſs thoſe
"ſtatues are covered with plates of gold: an ho-
"nourable diſtinction firſt granted to Acilius the
"conſul, after he had ſubdued, by his arms and
"counſels, the power of the king of Antiochus.
"The oſtentation of diſplaying, of magnifying
"perhaps, the rent-roll of the eſtates which they
"poſſeſs in all the provinces, from the riſing to
"the ſetting ſun, provokes the juſt reſentment
"of every man, who recollects, that their poor
"and invincible anceſtors were not diſtinguiſhed
"from the meaneſt of the ſoldiers, by the deli-
"cacy of their food, or the ſplendour of their
"apparel. But the modern nobles meaſure their
"rank and conſequence according to the loftineſs
"of their chariots (37), and the weighty mag-
"nificence of their dreſs. Their long robes of
"ſilk and purple float in the wind; and as they
"are

invented by the hiſtorian himſelf, who was afraid of any perſonal ſatire or application. It is certain, however, that the ſimple denominations of the Romans were gradually lengthened to the number of four, five, or even ſeven, pompous ſurnames; as for inſtance, Marcus Mæcius Mæmmius Furius Balburius Cæcilianus Placidus. See Noris Cenotaph. Piſan. Diſſert. iv p. 438.

(37) The *carrucæ*, or coaches of the Romans, were often of ſolid ſilver, curiouſly carved and engraved; and the trappings of the mules, or horſes, were embroſſed with gold. This magnificence continued from the reign of Nero to that of Honorius; and the Appian way was covered with the ſplendid equipages of the nobles, who came out to meet St. Melania, when ſhe returned to Rome, ſix years before the Gothic ſiege (Seneca, epiſtol. lxxxvii. Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiii. 49. Paulin. Nolan. apud Baron. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 397. No. 5.). Yet pomp is well exchanged for convenience; and a plain modern coach that is hung upon ſprings, is much preferable to the ſilver or gold *carts* of antiquity, which rolled on the axle-tree, and were expoſed, for the moſt part, to the inclemency of the weather.

" are agitated, by art or accident, they occaſio-
" nally diſcover the under garments, the rich tu-
" nics, embroidered with the figures of various
" animals (38). Followed by a train of fifty ſer-
" vants, and tearing up the pavement, they
" move along the ſtreets with the ſame impetuous
" ſpeed as if they travelled with poſt-horſes; and
" the example of the ſenators is boldly imitated
" by the matrons and ladies, whoſe covered car-
" riages are continually driving round the im-
" menſe ſpace of the city and ſuburbs. When-
" ever theſe perſons of high diſtinction conde-
" ſcend to viſit the public baths, they aſſume, on
" their entrance, a tone of loud and inſolent com-
" mand, and appropriate to their own uſe the
" conveniencies which were deſigned for the Ro-
" man people. If, in theſe places of mixed and
" general reſort, they meet any of the infamous
" miniſters of their pleaſures, they expreſs their
" affection by a tender embrace; while they
" proudly decline the ſalutations of their fellow-
" citizens, who are not permitted to aſpire above
" the honour of kiſſing their hands or their knees.
" As ſoon as they have indulged themſelves in
" the refreſhment of the bath, they reſume their
" rings, and the other enſigns of their dignity;
" ſelect from their private wardrobe of the fineſt
" linen, ſuch as might ſuffice for a dozen per-
" ſons, the garments the moſt agreeable to their
" fancy, and maintain till their departure the
" ſame haughty demeanour; which perhaps
" might

(38) In a homily of Aſterius, biſhop of Amaſia, M. de Valois has diſcovered (ad Ammian. xiv. 6.) that this was a new faſhion; that bears, wolves, lions, and tygers, woods, hunting-matches, &c. were repreſented in embroidery; and that the more pious coxcombs ſubſtituted the figure or legend of ſome favourite ſaint,

"might have been excuſed in the great Marcel-
"lus, after the conqueſt of Syracuſe. Some-
"times, indeed, theſe heroes undertake more
"arduous atchievements; they viſit their eſtates
"in Italy, and procure themſelves, by the toil
"of ſervile hands, the amuſements of the
"chace (39). If at any time, but more eſpe-
"cially on a hot day, they have courage to ſail,
"in their painted gallies, from the Lucrine
"lake (40) to their elegant villas on the ſea-
"coaſt of Puteoli and Cayeta (41), they com-
"pare their own expeditions to the marches of
"Cæſar and Alexander. Yet ſhould a fly pre-
"ſume to ſettle on the ſilken folds of their gild-
"ed umbrellas; ſhould a ſun-beam penetrate
"through ſome unguarded and imperceptible
"chink, they deplore their intolerable hardſhips,
"and lament, in affected language, that they
"were not born in the land of the Cimmeri-
"ans (42), the regions of eternal darkneſs. In
" theſe

(39) See Pliny's Epiſtles, i. 6. Three large wild boars were allured and taken in the toils, without interrupting the ſtudies of the philoſophic ſportſman.

(40) The change from the inauſpicious word *Avernus*, which ſtands in the text, is immaterial. The two lakes, Avernus and Lucrinus, communicated with each other, and were faſhioned by the ſtupendous moles of Agrippa into the Julian port, which opened, through a narrow entrance, into the gulph of Puteoli. Virgil, who reſided on the ſpot, has deſcribed (Georgic ii. 161.) this work at the moment of its execution; and his commentators, eſpecially Catrou, have derived much light from Strabo, Suetonius, and Dion. Earthquakes and vulcanos have changed the face of the country, and turned the Lucrine lake, ſince the year 1538, into the Monte Nuovo. See Camillo Pellegrino Diſcorſi della Compania Felice, p. 239. 244, &c. Antonii Sanfelicii Campania. p. 13. 88.

(41) The regna Cumana et Puteolana; loca cæteroqui valde expetenda, interpellantium autem multitudine pœne fugienda. Cicero ad Attic. xvi. 17.

(42) The proverbial expreſſion of *Cimmerian darkneſs* was originally borrowed from the deſcription of Homer (in the eleventh book

" theſe journies into the country (43), the whole
" body of the houſehold marches with their ma-
" ſter. In the ſame manner as the cavalry and
" infantry, the heavy and the light armed troops,
" the advanced guard and the rear, are marſhall-
" ed by the ſkill of their military leaders; ſo the
" domeſtic officers, who bear a rod, as an enſign
" of authority, diſtribute and arrange the nume-
" rous train of ſlaves and attendants. The bag-
" gage and wardrobe move in the front; and are
" immediately followed by a multitude of cooks,
" and inferior miniſters, employed in the ſervice
" of the kitchens, and of the table. The main
" body is compoſed of a promiſcuous crowd of
" ſlaves, increaſed by the accidental concourſe
" of idle or dependent plebeians. The rear is
" cloſed by the favourite band of eunuchs, diſ-
" tributed from age to youth, according to the
" order of ſeniority. Their numbers, and their
" deformity, excite the horror of the indignant
" ſpectators, who are ready to execrate the me-
" mory of Semiramis, for the cruel art which
" ſhe invented, of fruſtrating the purpoſes of na-
" ture, and of blaſting in the bud the hopes of
" future

book of the Odyſſey), which he applies to a remote and fabulous country on the ſhores of the ocean. See Eraſmi Adagia, in his works, tom. ii. p. 593. the Leyden edition.

(43) We may learn from Seneca, epiſt. cxxiii. three curious circumſtances relative to the journies of the Romans. 1. They were preceded by a troop of Numidian light horſe, who announced, by a cloud of duſt, the approach of a great man. 2. Their baggage mules tranſported not only the precious vaſes, but even the fragile veſſels of chryſtal and *murra*, which laſt is almoſt proved, by the learned French tranſlator of Seneca (tom. iii. p. 402—422.) to mean the porcelain of China and Japan. 3. The beautiful faces of the young ſlaves were covered with a medicated cruſt, or ointment, which ſecured them againſt the effects of the ſun and froſt.

"future generations. In the exercise of domestic "jurisdiction, the nobles of Rome express an ex- "quisite sensibility for any personal injury, and "a contemptuous indifference for the rest of the "human species. When they have called for "warm water, if a slave has been tardy in his "obedience, he is instantly chastised with three "hundred lashes; but should the same slave "commit a wilful murder, the master will mild- "ly observe, that he is a worthless fellow; but "that, if he repeats the offence he shall not es- "cape punishment. Hospitality was formerly "the virtue of the Romans; and every stranger, "who could plead either merit or misfortune, "was relieved, or rewarded, by their generosity. "At present, if a foreigner, perhaps of no con- "temptible rank, is introduced to one of the "proud and wealthy senators, he is welcomed "indeed in the first audience, with such warm "professions, and such kind enquiries, that he re- "tires, enchanted with the affability of his illustri- "ous friend, and full of regret that he had so long "delayed his journey to Rome, the native seat "of manners, as well as of empire. Secure of "a favourable reception, he repeats his visit the "ensuing day, and is mortified by the discovery, "that his person, his name, and his country, are "already forgotten. If he still has resolution to "persevere, he is gradually numbered in the "train of dependents, and obtains the permission "to pay his assiduous and unprofitable court to a "haughty patron, incapable of gratitude or "friendship; who scarcely deigns to remark his "presence, his departure, or his return. When- "ever the rich prepare a solemn and popular

"entertainment

" entertainment (44); whenever they celebrate " with profuſe and pernicious luxury, their pri- " vate banquets; the choice of the gueſts is the " ſubject of anxious deliberation. The modeſt, " the ſober, and the learned, are ſeldom prefer- " red; and the nomenclators, who are commonly " ſwayed by intereſted motives, have the ad- " dreſs to inſert in the liſt of invitations, the " obſcure names of the moſt worthleſs of man- " kind. But the frequent and familiar compa- " nions of the great, are thoſe paraſites, who " practice the moſt uſeful of all arts, the art of " flattery; who eagerly applaud each word, and " every action of their immortal patron; gaze " with rapture on his marble columns, and vari- " egated pavements; and ſtrenuouſly praiſe the " pomp and elegance, which he is taught to " conſider as a part of his perſonal merit. At the " Roman tables, the birds, the *ſquirrels* (45), or " the fiſh, which appear of an uncommon ſize, " are

(44) Diſtributio ſolemnium ſportularum. The *ſportulæ*, or *ſportellæ*, were ſmall baſkets, ſuppoſed to contain a quantity of hot proviſions, of the value of 100 quadrantes, or twelve-pence halfpenny, which were ranged in order in the hall, and oſtentatiouſly diſtributed to the hungry or ſervile crowd, who waited at the door. This indelicate cuſtom is very frequently mentioned in the epigrams of Martial, and the ſatires of Juvenal. See likewiſe Suetonius, in Claud. c. 21. in Neron. c. 16. in Domitian. c. 4. 7. Theſe baſkets of proviſions were afterwards converted into large pieces of gold and ſilver coin, or plate, which were mutually given and accepted even by the perſons of the higheſt rank (See Symmach. Epiſt. iv. 55. ix. 124. and Miſcell. p. 256.), on ſolemn occaſions, of conſulſhips, marriages, &c.

(45) The want of an Engliſh name obliges me to refer to the common genus of ſquirrels, the Latin *glis*, the French *loir*; a little animal who inhabits the woods, and remains torpid in cold weather (See Plin. Hiſt. Natur. viii. 82. Buffon, Hiſt. Naturelle, tom. viii. p. 158. Pennant's Synopſis of Quadrupeds, p. 289.). The art of rearing and fattening great numbers of *glires* was practiſed in Roman villas, as a profitable article of rural œconomy (Varro, de Re Ruſticâ, iii. 15.). The exceſſive demand of them

"are contemplated with curious attention; a "pair of ſcales is accurately applied, to aſcer- "tain their real weight; and, while the more "rational gueſts are diſguſted by the vain and "tedious repetition, notaries are ſummoned to "atteſt, by an authentic record, the truth of "ſuch a marvellous event. Another method of "introduction into the houſes and ſociety of the "great, is derived from the profeſſion of gam- "ing, or, as it is more politely ſtyled, of play. "The confederates are united by a ſtrict and in- "diſſoluble bond of friendſhip, or rather of con- "ſpiracy; a ſuperior degree of ſkill in the *Teſ- "ſerarian* art (which may be interpreted the "game of dice and tables) (46) is a ſure road to "wealth and reputation. A maſter of that ſub- "lime ſcience, who in a ſupper or aſſembly, is "placed below a magiſtrate, diſplays in his "countenance the ſurpriſe and indignation which "Cato might be ſuppoſed to feel, when he was "refuſed the prætorſhip by the votes of a capri- "cious people. The acquiſition of knowledge "ſeldom engages the curioſity of the nobles, who "abhor the fatigue, and diſdain the advantages, "of ſtudy; and the only books which they per- "uſe are the ſatires of Juvenal, and the verboſe "and

them for luxurious tables, was increaſed by the fooliſh prohibitions of the Cenſors; and it is reported, that they are ſtill eſteemed in modern Rome, and are frequently ſent as preſents by the Colonna princes (See Brotier, the laſt editor of Pliny, tom. ii. p. 458. apud Barbou, 1779.).

(46) This game, which might be tranſlated by the more familiar names of *trictrac*, or *backgammon*, was a favourite amuſement of the graveſt Romans; and old Mucius Scævola, the lawyer, had the reputation of a very ſkilful player. It was called *ludus duodecim ſcriptorum*, from the twelve *ſcripta*, or lines, which equally divided the *alveolus*, or table. On theſe, the two armies, the white and the black, each conſiſting of fifteen men, or

" and fabulous hiſtories of Marius Maximus (47).
" The libraries, which they have inherited from
" their fathers, are ſecluded, like dreary ſepul-
" chres, from the light of day (48). But the
" coſtly inſtruments of the theatre, flutes, and
" enormous lyres, and hydraulic organs, are con-
" ſtructed for their uſe; and the harmony of vo-
" cal and inſtrumental muſic is inceſſantly re-
" peated in the palaces of Rome. In thoſe pa-
" laces ſound is preferred to ſenſe, and the care
" of the body to that of the mind. It is allow-
" ed as a ſalutary maxim, that the light and fri-
" volous ſuſpicion of a contagious malady, is of
" ſufficient weight to excuſe the viſits of the moſt
" intimate friends: and even the ſervants, who
" are diſpatched to make the decent enquiries,
" are not ſuffered to return home, till they have
" undergone the ceremony of a previous ablu-
" tion. Yet this ſelfiſh and unmanly delicacy oc-
" caſionally yields to the more imperious paſſion
" of avarice. The proſpect of gain will urge a
" rich and gouty ſenator as far as Spoleto; every
" ſentiment of arrogance and dignity is ſubdued
" by the hopes of an inheritance, or even of a
" legacy

or *calculi*, were regularly placed, and alternately moved, accord-
ing to the laws of the game; and the chances of the *teſſeræ*, o
dice. Dr. Hyde, who diligently traces the hiſtory and varieti
of the *nerdiludium* (a name of Perſic etymology) from Irelan
to Japan, pours forth, on this trifling ſubject, a copious torren
of claſſic and Oriental learning. See Syntagma Diſſertat. tom. i
p. 217—405.

(47) Marius Maximus, homo omnium verboſiſſimus, qui, e
mythiſtoricis ſe voluminibus implicavit. Vopiſcus, in Hiſt. Au
guſt. p. 242. He wrote the lives of the Emperors, from Traja
to Alexander Severus. See Gerard Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Lati
l. ii. c. 3. in his works, vol. iv. p. 57.

(48) This ſatire is probably exaggerated. The Saturnalia o
Macrobius, and the Epiſtles of Jerom, afford ſatisfactory proofs
that Chriſtian theology, and claſſic literature, were ſtudiouſly cul
tivated by ſeveral Romans, of both ſexes, and of the highe
rank.

"legacy; and a wealthy, childleſs, citizen is the "moſt powerful of the Romans. The art of ob- "taining the ſignature of a favourable teſtament, "and ſometimes of haſtening the moment of its "execution, is perfectly underſtood; and it has "happened that in the ſame houſe, though in "different apartments, a huſband and a wife, "with the laudable deſign of over-reaching each "other, have ſummoned their reſpective law- "yers, to declare, at the ſame time, their mutual, "but contradictory, intentions. The diſtreſs "which follows and chaſtiſes extravagant luxury, "often reduces the great to the uſe of the moſt "humiliating expedients. When they deſire to "borrow, they employ the baſe and ſupplicating "ſtyle of the ſlave in the comedy; but when "they are called upon to pay, they aſſume the "royal and tragic declamation of the grandſons "of Hercules. If the demand is repeated, they "readily procure ſome truſty ſycophant, in- "ſtructed to maintain a charge of poiſon, or ma- "gic, againſt the inſolent creditor; who is ſeldom "releaſed from priſon, till he has ſigned a diſ- "charge of the whole debt. Theſe vices, which "degrade the moral character of the Romans, "are mixed with a puerile ſuperſtition, that diſ- "graces their underſtanding. They liſten with "confidence to the predictions of haruſpices, "who pretend to read, in the entrails of victims, "the ſigns of future greatneſs and proſperity; "and there are many who do not preſume ei- "ther to bathe, or to dine, or to appear in pub- "lic, till they have diligently conſulted, ac- "cording to the rules of aſtrology, the ſituation "of Mercury, and the aſpect of the moon (49). "It

(49) Macrobius, the friend of theſe Roman nobles, conſidered the ſtars as the cauſe, or at leaſt the ſigns, of future events (de Somn. Scipio. l. i. c. 19. p. 68.

"It is ſingular enough, that this vain credulity "may often be diſcovered among the profane "ſceptics, who impiouſly doubt, or deny, the "exiſtence of a celeſtial power."

State and character of the people of Rome.

In populous cities, which are the ſea of commerce and manufactures, the middle ranks of inhabitants, who derive their ſubſiſtence from the dexterity, or labour, of their hands, are commonly the moſt prolific, the moſt uſeful, and, in that ſenſe, the moſt reſpectable, part of the community. But the plebeians of Rome, who diſdained ſuch ſedentary and ſervile arts, had been oppreſſed, from the earlieſt times, by the weight of debt and uſury; and the huſbandman, during the term of his military ſervice, was obliged to abandon the cultivation of his farm (49). The lands of Italy, which had been originally divided among the families of free and indigent proprietors, were inſenſibly purchaſed, or uſurped, by the avarice of the nobles; and in the age which preceded the fall of the republic, it was computed, that only two thouſand citizens were poſſeſſed of any independent ſubſtance (50). Yet as long as the people beſtowed, by their ſuffrages, the honours of the ſtate, the command of the legions, and the adminiſtration of wealthy provinces, their conſcious pride alleviated, in ſome

(49) The hiſtories of Livy (ſee particularly vi. 36.) are full of the extortions of the rich, and the ſufferings of the poor debtors. The melancholy ſtory of a brave old ſoldier (Dionyſ. Hal. l. vi. c. 26. p. 347. edit. Hudſon, and Livy, ii. 23.) muſt have been frequently repeated in thoſe primitive times, which have been ſo undeſervedly praiſed.

(50) Non eſſe in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent. Cicero. Offic. ii. 21. and Comment. Paul. Manut. in edit. Græv. This vague computation was made A. U. C. 649. in a ſpeech of the tribune Philippus; and it was his object, as well as that of the Gracchi (ſee Plutarch), to deplore, and perhaps to exaggerate, the miſery of the common people.

ſome meaſure, the hardſhips of poverty; and their wants were ſeaſonably ſupplied by the ambitious liberality of the candidates, who aſpired to ſecure a venal majority in the thirty-five tribes, or the hundred and ninety-three centuries, of Rome. But when the prodigal commons had imprudently alienated not only the *uſe*, but the *inheritance* of power, they ſunk, under the reign of the Cæſars, into a vile and wretched populace, which muſt, in a few generations, have been totally extinguiſhed, if it had not been continually recruited by the manumiſſion of ſlaves, and the influx of ſtrangers. As early as the time of Hadrian, it was the juſt complaint of the ingenuous natives, that the capital had attracted the vices of the univerſe, and the manners of the moſt oppoſite nations. The intemperance of the Gauls, the cunning and levity of the Greeks, the ſavage obſtinacy of the Egyptians and Jews, the ſervile temper of the Aſiatics, and the diſſolute, effeminate proſtitution of the Syrians, were mingled in the various multitude; which, under the proud and falſe denomination of Romans, preſumed to deſpiſe their fellow-ſubjects, and even their ſovereigns, who dwelt beyond the precincts of the ETERNAL CITY (51).

(51) See the third Satire (60—125.) of Juvenal, who indignantly complains,

——— Quamvis quota portio fæcis Achæi!
Jampridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes;
Et linguam et mores, &c.

Seneca, when he propoſes to comfort his mother (Conſolat. ad Helv. c. 6.) by the reflection, that a great part of mankind were in a ſtate of exile, reminds her how few of the inhabitants of the Rome were born in the city.

Public diſtribution of bread, bacon, oil, wine, &c.

Yet the name of that city was ſtill pronounced with reſpect: the frequent and capricious tumults of its inhabitants were indulged with impunity; and the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, inſtead of cruſhing the laſt remains of the democracy, by the ſtrong arm of military power, embraced the mild policy of Auguſtus, and ſtudied to relieve the poverty, and to amuſe the idleneſs, of an innumerable people (52). I. For the convenience of the lazy plebeians, the monthly diſtributions of corn were converted into a daily allowance of bread; a great number of ovens were conſtructed and maintained at the public expence; and at the appointed hour, each citizen, who was furniſhed with a ticket, aſcended the flight of ſteps, which had been aſſigned to his peculiar quarter or diviſion, and received, either as a gift, or at a very low price, a loaf of bread of the weight of three pounds, for the uſe of his family. II. The foreſts of Lucania, whoſe acorns fattened large droves of wild hogs (53), afforded as a ſpecies of tribute, a plentiful

(52) Almoſt all that is ſaid of the bread, bacon, oil, wine, &c. may be found in the thirteenth book of the Theodoſian Code; which expreſsly treats of the *police* of the great cities. See particularly the titles iii. iv. xv. xvi. xvii. xxiv. The collateral teſtimonies are produced in Godefroy's Commentary, and it is needleſs to tranſcribe them. According to a law of Theodoſius, which appreciates in money the military allowance, a piece of gold (eleven ſhillings) was equivalent to eighty pounds of bacon, or to eighty pounds of oil, or to twelve modii (or pecks) of ſalt (Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. iv. leg. 17.). This equation, compared with another, of ſeventy pounds of bacon for an *amphora* (Cod. Theod. l. xiv. tit. iv. leg. 4.), fixes the price of wine at about ſixteen pence the gallon.

(53) The anonymous author of the Deſcription of the World (p. 14. in tom. iii. Geograph. Minor, Hudſon) obſerves of Lucania, in his barbarous Latin, Regio obtima, et ipſa omnibus habundans, et lardum multum foras emittit. Propter quod eſt in montibus, cujus æſcam animalium variam, &c.

tiful ſupply of cheap and wholeſome meat. During five months of the year, a regular allowance of bacon was diſtributed to the poorer citizens; and the annual conſumption of the capital, at a time when it was much declined from its former luſtre, was aſcertained by an edict of Valentinian the Third, at three millions ſix hundred and twenty-eight thouſand pounds (54). III. In the manners of antiquity, the uſe of oil was indiſpenſable for the lamp, as well as for the bath; and the annual tax, which was impoſed on Africa for the benefit of Rome, amounted to the weight of three millions of pounds, to the meaſure, perhaps, of three hundred thouſand Engliſh gallons. IV. The anxiety of Auguſtus to provide the metropolis with ſufficient plenty of corn, was not extended beyond that neceſſary article of human ſubſiſtence; and when the popular clamour accuſed the dearneſs and ſcarcity of wine, a proclamation was iſſued, by the grave reformer, to remind his ſubjects, that no man could reaſonably complain of thirſt, ſince the aqueducts of Agrippa had introduced into thé city ſo many copious ſtreams of pure and ſalubrious water (55). This rigid ſobriety was inſenſibly relaxed; and, although the generous deſign of Aurelian (56) does not appear to have been executed in its full extent, the uſe of wine was allowed on very eaſy

(54) See Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. D. Valent. l. i. tit. xv. This law was publiſhed at Rome June the 29th, A. D. 452.

(55) Sueton. in Auguſt. c. 42. The utmoſt debauch of the emperor himſelf, in his favourite wine of Rhætia, never exceeded a *ſextarius* (an Engliſh pint). Id. c. 77. Torrentius ad loc. and Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 86.

(56) His deſign was to plant vineyards along the ſea-coaſt of Hetruria (Vopiſcus, in Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 225.); the dreary, unwholeſome, uncultivated *Maremme* of modern Italy.

and liberal terms. The adminiſtration of the public cellars was delegated to a magiſtrate of honourable rank; and a conſiderable part of the vintage of Campania was reſerved for the fortunate inhabitants of Rome.

Uſe of the public baths.

The ſtupendous aqueducts, ſo juſtly celebrated by the praiſes of Auguſtus himſelf, repleniſhed the *Thermæ*, or baths, which had been conſtructed, in every part of the city, with Imperial magnificence. The baths of Antoninus Caracalla, which were open, at ſtated hours, for the indiſcriminate ſervice of the ſenators and the people, contained above ſixteen hundred ſeats of marble; and more than three thouſand were reckoned in the baths of Diocletian (57). The walls of the lofty apartments were covered with curious moſaics, that imitated the art of the pencil in the elegance of deſign, and the variety of colours. The Egyptian granite was beautifully incruſted with the precious green marble of Numidia; the perpetual ſtream of hot water was poured into the capacious baſons, through ſo many wide mouths of bright and maſſy ſilver; and the meaneſt Roman could purchaſe, with a ſmall copper coin, the daily enjoyment of a ſcene of pomp and luxury, which might excite the envy of the kings of Aſia (58). From theſe ſtately palaces iſſued a ſwarm of dirty and ragged plebeians, without ſhoes, and without a mantle; who loitered away whole days in the ſtreet or Forum, to hear news, and to hold diſputes; who

(57) Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 197.

(58) Seneca (epiſtol. lxxxvi.) compares the baths of Scipio Africanus, at his villa of Liternum, with the magnificence (which was continually increaſing) of the public baths of Rome, long before the ſtately Thermæ of Antoninus and Diocletian were erected. The *quadrans* paid for admiſſion was the quarter of the *as*, about one-eighth of an Engliſh penny.

who diſſipated, in extravagant gaming, the miſerable pittance of their wives and children; and ſpent the hours of the night in obſcure taverns, and brothels, in the indulgence of groſs and vulgar ſenſuality (59).

Games and ſpectacles.

But the moſt lively and ſplendid amuſement of the idle multitude, depended on the frequent exhibition of public games and ſpectacles. The piety of Chriſtian princes had ſuppreſſed the inhuman combats of gladiators; but the Roman people ſtill conſidered the Circus as their home, their temple, and the ſeat of the republic. The impatient crowd ruſhed at the dawn of day to ſecure their places, and there were many who paſſed a ſleepleſs and anxious night in the adjacent porticos. From the morning to the evening, careleſs of the ſun, or of the rain, the ſpectators, who ſometimes amounted to the number of four hundred thouſand, remained in eager attention; their eyes fixed on the horſes and charioteers, their minds agitated with hope and fear, for the ſucceſs of the *colours* which they eſpouſed: and the happineſs of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race (60). The ſame immoderate ardour inſpired their clamours, and their applauſe, as often as they were entertained with the

(59) Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 6. and l. xxviii. c. 4.), after deſcribing the luxury and pride of the nobles of Rome, expoſes, with equal indignation, the vices and follies of the common people.

(60) Juvenal. Satir. xi. 191, &c. The expreſſions of the hiſtorian Ammianus are not leſs ſtrong and animated than thoſe of the ſatiriſt; and both the one and the other painted from the life. The numbers which the great Circus was capable of receiving, are taken from the *original Notitiæ* of the city. The differences between them prove that they did not tranſcribe each other; but the ſum may appear incredible, though the country on theſe occaſions flocked to the city.

the hunting of wild beaſts, and the various modes of theatrical repreſentation. Theſe repreſentations in modern capitals may deſerve to be conſidered as a pure and elegant ſchool, of taſte, and perhaps of virtue. But the Tragic and Comic Muſe of the Romans, who ſeldom aſpired beyond the imitation of Attic genius (61), had been almoſt totally ſilent ſince the fall of the republic (62); and their place was unworthily occupied by licentious farce, effeminate muſic, and ſplendid pageantry. The pantomimes (63), maintained their reputation from the age of Auguſtus to the ſixth century, expreſſed, without the uſe of words, the various fables of the gods and heroes of antiquity; and the perfection of their art, which ſometimes diſarmed the gravity of the philoſopher, always excited the applauſe and wonder of the people. The vaſt and magnificent theatres of Rome were filled by three thouſand female dancers, and by three thouſand ſingers, with the maſters of the reſpective choruſſes.

(61) Sometimes indeed they compoſed original pieces.

——— Veſtigia Græca
Auſi deſerere et celebrare domeſtica facta.

Horat. Epiſtol. ad Piſones, 285. and the learned, though perplexed, note of Dacier, who might have allowed the name of tragedies to the *Brutus* and the *Decius* of Pacuvius, or to the *Cato* of Maternus. The *Octavia*, aſcribed to one of the Senecas, ſtill remains a very unfavourable ſpecimen of Roman tragedy.

(62) In the time of Quintilian and Pliny, a tragic poet was reduced to the imperfect method of hiring a great room, and reading his play to the company, whom he invited for that purpoſe (See Dialog. de Oratoribus, c. 9. 11. and Plin. Epiſtol. vii. 17.).

(63) See the Dialogue of Lucian, intitled, De Saltatione, tom. ii. p. 265—317. edit. Reitz. The pantomimes obtained the honourable name of χειροσοφοι; and it was required, that they ſhould be converſant with almoſt every art and ſcience. Burette (in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. i. p. 127, &c.) has given a ſhort hiſtory of the art of pantomimes.

ruſſes. Such was the popular favour which they enjoyed, that, in a time of ſcarcity, when all ſtrangers were baniſhed from the city, the merit of contributing to the public pleaſures exempted *them* from a law, which was ſtrictly executed againſt the profeſſors of the liberal arts (64.)

It is ſaid, that the fooliſh curioſity of Elagabalus attempted to diſcover, from the quantity of ſpiders webs, the number of the inhabitants of Rome. A more rational method of enquiry might not have been undeſerving of the attention of the wiſeſt princes, who could eaſily have reſolved a queſtion ſo important for the Roman government, and ſo intereſting to ſucceeding ages. The births and deaths of the citizens were duly regiſtered; and if any writer of antiquity had condeſcended to mention the annual amount, or the common average, we might now produce ſome ſatisfactory calculation, which would deſtroy the extravagant aſſertions of critics, and perhaps confirm the modeſt and probable conjectures of philoſophers (65). The moſt diligent reſearches have collected only the following circumſtances; which, ſlight and imperfect as they are, may tend, in ſome degree, to illuſtrate the queſtion of the populouſneſs of ancient Rome. I. When the capital of the empire was beſieged by

Populouſneſs of Rome.

(64) Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 6. He complains, with decent indignation, that the ſtreets of Rome were filled with crowds of females, who might have given children to the ſtate, but whoſe only occupation was to curl and dreſs their hair, and jactari volubilibus gyris, dum exprimunt innumera ſimulacra, quæ finxere fabulæ theatrales.

(65) Lipſius (tom. iii. p. 423. de Magnitud. Romanâ, l. iii. c. 3.) and Iſaac Voſſius (Obſervat. Var. p. 26—34.) have indulged ſtrange dreams of four, or eight, or fourteen millions in Rome. Mr. Hume (Eſſays, vol. i. p. 450—457.) with admirable good ſenſe and ſcepticiſm, betrays ſome ſecret diſpoſition to extenuate the populouſneſs of ancient times.

by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately meaſured, by Ammonius, the mathematician, who found it equal to twenty-one miles (66). It ſhould not be forgotten, that the form of the city was almoſt that of a circle; the geometrical figure which is known to contain the largeſt ſpace within any given circumference. II. The architect Vitruvius, who flouriſhed in the Auguſtan age, and whoſe evidence, on this occaſion, has peculiar weight and authority, obſerves, that the innumerable habitations of the Roman people would have ſpread themſelves far beyond the narrow limits of the city; and that the want of ground, which was probably contracted on every ſide by gardens and villas, ſuggeſted the common, though inconvenient, practice of raiſing the houſes to a conſiderable height in the air (67). But the loftineſs of theſe buildings, which often conſiſted of haſty work, and inſufficient materials, was the cauſe of frequent and fatal accidents; and it was repeatedly enacted by Auguſtus, as well as by Nero, that the height of private edifices, within the walls of Rome, ſhould not exceed the meaſure of ſeventy feet from the ground (68). III. Juvenal

(66) Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 197. See Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. tom. ix. p. 400.

(67) In eâ autem majeſtate urbis, et civium infinitâ frequentiâ innumerabiles habitationes opus fuit explicare. Ergo cum recipere non poſſet area plana tantam multitudinem in urbe, ad auxilium altitudinis ædificiorum res ipſa coëgit devenire. Vitruv. ii. 8. This paſſage, which I owe to Voſſius, is clear, ſtrong, and comprehenſive.

(68) The ſucceſſive teſtimonies of Pliny, Ariſtides, Claudian, Rutilius, &c. prove the inſufficiency of theſe reſpective edicts. See Lipſius, de Magnitud. Romanâ, l. iii. c. 4.

——— Tabulata tibi jam tertia fumant
Tu neſcis; nam ſi gradibus trepidatur ab imis
Ultimus ardebit, quem tegula ſola tuetur
A pluviâ. Juvenal. Satir. iii. 199.

venal (69) laments, as it ſhould ſeem from his own experience, the hardſhips of the poorer citizens, to whom he addreſſes the ſalutary advice of emigrating, without delay, from the ſmoke of Rome; ſince they might purchaſe, in the little towns of Italy, a cheerful commodious dwelling, at the ſame price which they annually paid for a dark and miſerable lodging. Houſe-rent was therefore immoderately dear: the rich acquired, at an enormous expence, the ground, which they covered with palaces and gardens; but the body of the Roman people was crowded into a narrow ſpace; and the different floors, and apartments, of the ſame houſe, were divided, as it is ſtill the cuſtom of Paris, and other cities, among ſeveral families of plebeians. IV. The total number of houſes in the fourteen regions of the city, is accurately ſtated in the deſcription of Rome, compoſed under the reign of Theodoſius, and they amount to forty-eight thouſand three hundred and eighty-two (70). The two claſſes of *domus* and of *inſulæ*, into which they are divided, include all the habitations of the capital, of every rank and condition, from the marble

(69) Read the whole third ſatire, but particularly 166. 223, &c. The deſcription of a crowded *inſula*, or lodging-houſe, in Petronius (c. 95. 97.), perfectly tallies with the complaints of Juvenal; and we learn from legal authority, that, in the time of Auguſtus (Heineccius, Hiſt. Juris Roman. c. iv. p. 181.), the ordinary rent of the ſeveral *cænacula*, or apartments of an *inſula*, annually produced forty thouſand ſeſterces, between three and four hundred pounds ſterling (Pandect. l. xix. tit. ii. No. 30.); a ſum which proves at once the large extent, and high value, of thoſe common buildings.

(70) This ſum total is compoſed of 1780 *domus*, or great houſes, of 46,602 *inſulæ*, or plebeian habitations (See Nardini, Roma Antica, l. iii. p. 88.); and theſe numbers are aſcertained by the agreement of the texts of the different *Notitiæ*. Nardini, l. viii. p. 489. 500.

marble palace of the Anicii, with a numerous eſtabliſhment of freedmen and ſlaves, to the lofty and narrow lodging-houſe, where the poet Codrus, and his wife, were permitted to hire a wretched garret immediately under the tiles. If we adopt the ſame average, which, under ſimilar circumſtances, has been found applicable to Paris (71), and indifferently allow about twenty-five perſons for each houſe, of every degree, we may fairly eſtimate the inhabitants of Rome at twelve hundred thouſand: a number which cannot be thought exceſſive for the capital of a mighty empire, though it exceeds the populouſneſs of the greateſt cities of modern Europe (72).

First ſiege of Rome by the Goths. A. D. 408.

Such was the ſtate of Rome under the reign of Honorius; at the time when the Gothic army formed the ſiege, or rather the blockade, of the city (73). By a ſkilful diſpoſition of his numerous forces, who impatiently watched the moment of an aſſault, Alaric encompaſſed the walls, commanded the twelve principal gates, intercepted all communication with the adjacent country, and vigilantly guarded the navigation of the Tyber, from which the Romans derived the ſureſt and moſt plentiful ſupply of proviſi-

ons.

(71) See that accurate writer M. de Meſſance, Recherches ſur la Population, p. 175—187. From probable, or certain grounds, he aſſigns to Paris 23,565 houſes, 71,114 families, and 576,630 inhabitants.

(72) This computation is not very different from that which M. Brotier, the laſt editor of Tacitus (tom. ii. p. 380.), has aſſumed from ſimilar principles; though he ſeems to aim at a degree of preciſion, which it is neither poſſible nor important to obtain.

(73) For the events of the firſt ſiege of Rome, which are often confounded with thoſe of the ſecond and third, ſee Zoſimus, l. v. p. 350—354. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 6. Olympiodorus, ap. Phot. p. 180. Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 3. and Godefroy, Diſſertat. p. 467—475.

ons. The firſt emotions of the nobles, and of the people, were thoſe of ſurpriſe and indignation that a vile Barbarian ſhould dare to inſult the capital of the world: but their arrogance was ſoon humbled by misfortune; and their unmanly rage, inſtead of being directed againſt an enemy in arms, was meanly exerciſed on a defenceleſs and innocent victim. Perhaps in the perſon of Serena, the Romans might have reſpected the niece of Theodoſius, the aunt, nay even the adoptive mother, of the reigning emperor: but they abhorred the widow of Stilicho; and they liſtened with credulous paſſion to the tale of calumny, which accuſed her of maintaining a ſecret and criminal correſpondence with the Gothic invader. Actuated, or overawed, by the ſame popular frenzy, the ſenate, without requiring any evidence of her guilt, pronounced the ſentence of her death. Serena was ignominiouſly ſtrangled; and the infatuated multitude were aſtoniſhed to find, that this cruel act of injuſtice did not immediately produce the retreat of the Barbarians, and the deliverance of the city. That unfortunate city gradually experienced the diſtreſs of ſcarcity, and at length the horrid calamities of famine. The daily allowance of three pounds of bread was reduced to one-half, to one-third, to nothing; and the price of corn ſtill continued to riſe in a rapid and extravagant proportion. The poorer citizens, who were unable to purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, ſolicited the precarious charity of the rich; and for a while the public miſery was alleviated by the humanity of Læta, the widow of the emperor Gratian, who had fixed her reſidence at Rome, and conſecrated, to the uſe of the indigent, the princely

Famine.

princely revenue, which ſhe annually received from the grateful ſucceſſors of her huſband (74). But theſe private and temporary donatives were inſufficient to appeaſe the hunger of a numerous people; and the progreſs of famine invaded the marble palaces of the ſenators themſelves. The perſons of both ſexes who had been educated in the enjoyment of eaſe and luxury, diſcovered how little is requiſite to ſupply the demands of nature; and laviſhed their unavailing treaſure of gold and ſilver, to obtain the coarſe and ſcanty ſuſtenance which they would formerly have rejected with diſdain. The food the moſt repugnant to ſenſe or imagination, the aliments the moſt unwholeſome and pernicious to the conſtitution, were eagerly devoured, and fiercely diſputed, by the rage of hunger. A dark ſuſpicion was entertained, that ſome deſperate wretches fed on the bodies of their fellow-creatures, whom they had ſecretly murdered; and even mothers (ſuch was the horrid conflict of the two moſt powerful inſtincts implanted by nature in the human breaſt), even mothers are ſaid to have taſted the fleſh of their ſlaughtered infants (75)!

Plague. Many thouſands of the inhabitants of Rome expired

(74) The mother of Læta was named Piſſumena. Her father, family, and country are unknown. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 59.

(75) Ad nefandos cibos erupit eſurientium rabies, et ſua invicem membra laniarunt, dum mater non parcit lactenti infantiæ; et recipit utero, quem paullò ante effuderat. Jerom ad Principiam, tom. 1. p. 121. The ſame horrid circumſtance is likewiſe told of the ſieges of Jeruſalem and Paris. For the latter, compare the tenth book of the Henriade, and the Journal de Henri IV. tom. i. p. 47—83.; and obſerve that a plain narrative of facts is much more pathetic, than the moſt laboured deſcriptions of epic poetry.

pired in their houſes, or in the ſtreets, for want of ſuſtenance; and as the public ſepulchres without the walls were in the power of the enemy, the ſtench, which aroſe from ſo many putrid and unburied carcaſſes, infected the air; and the miſeries of famine were ſucceeded and aggravated by the contagion of a peſtilential diſeaſe. The aſſurances of a ſpeedy and effectual relief, which were repeatedly tranſmitted from the court of Ravenna, ſupported, for ſome time, the fainting reſolution of the Romans, till at length the deſpair of any human aid tempted them to accept the offers of a præternatural deliverance. Pompeianus, præfect of the city, had been perſuaded, by the art or fanaticiſm of ſome Tuſcan diviners, that, by the myſterious force of ſpells and ſacrifices, they could extract the lightning from the clouds, and point thoſe celeſtial fires againſt the camp of the Barbarians (76). The important ſecret was communicated to Innocent, the biſhop of Rome; and the ſucceſſor of St. Peter is accuſed, perhaps without foundation, of preferring the ſafety of the republic to the rigid ſeverity

Superſtition.

(76) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 355, 356.) ſpeaks of theſe ceremonies, like a Greek unacquainted with the national ſuperſtition of Rome and Tuſcany. I ſuſpect, that they conſiſted of two parts, the ſecret, and the public; the former were probably an imitation of the arts and ſpells, by which Numa had drawn down Jupiter and his thunder on Mount Aventine.

——— Quid agant laqueis, quæ carmina dicant
Quâque trahant ſuperis ſedibus arte Jovem
Scire nefas homini.

The *ancilia*, or ſhields of Mars, the *pignora Imperii*, which were carried in ſolemn proceſſion on the calends of March, derived their origin from this myſterious event (Ovid. Faſt. iii. 259—398.). It was probably deſigned to revive this ancient feſtival which had been ſuppreſſed by Theodoſius. In that caſe, we recover a chronological date (March the 1ſt, A. D. 409.) which has not hitherto been obſerved.

ſeverity of the Chriſtian worſhip. But when the queſtion was agitated in the ſenate; when it was propoſed, as as eſſential condition, that thoſe ſacrifices ſhould be performed in the Capitol, by the authority, and in the preſence of, the magiſtrates; the majority of that reſpectable aſſembly, apprehenſive either of the Divine, or of the Imperial, diſpleaſure, refuſed to join in an act, which appeared almoſt equivalent to the public reſtoration of Paganiſm (77).

Alaric accepts a ranſom, and raiſes the ſiege. A.D. 409.

The laſt reſourſe of the Romans was in the clemency, or at leaſt, in the moderation, of the king of the Goths. The ſenate, who in this emergency aſſumed the ſupreme powers of government, appointed two ambaſſadors to negociate with the enemy. This important truſt was delegated to Baſilius, a ſenator, of Spaniſh extraction, and already conſpicuous in the adminiſtration of provinces; and to John, the firſt tribune of the notaries, who was peculiarly qualified, by his dexterity in buſineſs, as well as by his former intimacy with the Gothic prince. When they were introduced into his preſence, they declared, perhaps in a more lofty ſtyle than became their abject condition, that the Romans were reſolved to maintain their dignity, either in peace or war; and that, if Alaric refuſed them a fair and honourable capitulation, he might ſound his trumpets, and prepare to give battle to an innumerable people, exerciſed in arms, and animated by deſpair. "The thicker the hay, the eaſier it is mowed," was the conciſe reply of the Barbarian;

(77) Sozomen (l. ix. c. 6.) inſinuates, that the experiment was actually, though unſucceſsfully, made; but he does not mention the name of Innocent: and Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. x. p. 645.) is determined not to believe, that a pope could be guilty of ſuch impious condeſcenſion.

Barbarian; and this ruſtic metaphor was accompanied by a loud and inſulting laugh, expreſſive of his contempt for the menaces of an unwarlike populace, enervated by luxury before they were emaciated by famine. He then condeſcended to fix the ranſom, which he would accept as the price of his retreat from the walls of Rome: *all* the gold and ſilver in the city, whether it were the property of the ſtate, or of individuals; *all* the rich and precious moveables; and *all* the ſlaves who could prove their title to the name of *Barbarians*. The miniſters of the ſenate preſumed to aſk, in a modeſt and ſuppliant tone, "If "ſuch, O King, are your demands, what do "you intend to leave us?" "YOUR LIVES;" replied the haughty conqueror: they trembled, and retired. Yet before they retired, a ſhort ſuſpenſion of arms was granted, which allowed ſome time for a more temperate negociation. The ſtern features of Alaric were inſenſibly relaxed; he abated much of the rigour of his terms; and at length conſented to raiſe the ſiege, on the immediate payment of five thouſand pounds of gold, of thirty thouſand pounds of ſilver, and of four thouſand robes of ſilk, of three thouſand pieces of fine ſcarlet cloth, and of three thouſand pounds weight of pepper (78). But the public treaſury was exhauſted; the annual rents of the great eſtates in Italy and the provinces, were intercepted by the calamities of war; the gold

(78) Pepper was a favourite ingredient of the moſt expenſive Roman cookery, and the beſt ſort commonly ſold for fifteen denarii, or ſhillings, the pound. See Pliny, Hiſt. Natur. xii. 14. It was brought from India; and the ſame country, the coaſt of Malabar, ſtill affords the greateſt plenty: but the improvement of trade and navigation has multiplied the quantity, and reduced the price. See Hiſtoire Politique et Philoſophique, &c. tom. i. P. 457.

gold and gems had been exchanged, during the famine, for the vileſt ſuſtenance; the hoards of ſecret wealth were ſtill concealed by the obſtinacy of avarice; and ſome remains of conſecrated ſpoils afforded the only reſource that could avert the impending ruin of the city. As ſoon as the Romans had ſatisfied the rapacious demands of Alaric, they were reſtored, in ſome meaſure, to the enjoyment of peace and plenty. Several of the gates were cautiouſly opened; the importation of proviſions from the river, and the adjacent country, was no longer obſtructed by the Goths; the citizens reſorted in crowds to the free market, which was held during three days in the ſuburbs; and while the merchants who undertook this gainful trade, made a conſiderable profit, the future ſubſiſtence of the city was ſecured by the ample magazines which were depoſited in the public and private granaries. A more regular diſcipline, than could have been expected, was maintained in the camp of Alaric; and the wiſe Barbarian juſtified his regard for the faith of treaties, by the juſt ſeverity with which he chaſtiſed a party of licentious Goths, who had inſulted ſome Roman citizens on the road to Oſtia. His army, enriched by the contributions of the capital, ſlowly advanced into the fair and fruitful province of Tuſcany, where he propoſed to eſtabliſh his winter-quarters; and the Gothic ſtandard became the refuge of forty thouſand Barbarian ſlaves, who had broke their chains, and aſpired, under the command of their great deliverer, to revenge the injuries, and the diſgrace of their cruel ſervitude. About the ſame time, he received a more honourable reinforcement of Goths and Huns, whom

whom Adolphus (79), the brother of his wife, had conducted, at his preſſing invitation, from the banks of the Danube to thoſe of the Tyber; and who had cut their way, with ſome difficulty and loſs, through the ſuperior numbers of the Imperial troops. A victorious leader, who united the daring ſpirit of a Barbarian with the art and diſcipline of a Roman general, was at the head of an hundred thouſand fighting men; and Italy pronounced, with terror and reſpect, the formidable name of Alaric (80).

Fruitleſs negociations for peace, A. D. 409.

At the diſtance of fourteen centuries, we may be ſatisfied with relating the military exploits of the conquerors of Rome, without preſuming to inveſtigate the motives of their political conduct. In the midſt of his apparent proſperity, Alaric was conſcious, perhaps, of ſome ſecret weakneſs, ſome internal defect; or perhaps the moderation which he diſplayed, was intended only to deceive and diſarm the eaſy credulity of the miniſters of Honorius. The king of the Goths repeatedly declared, that it was his deſire to be conſidered as the friend of peace, and of the Romans. Three ſenators, at his earneſt requeſt, were ſent ambaſſadors to the court of Ravenna, to ſolicit the exchange of hoſtages, and the concluſion of the treaty; and the propoſals, which he more clearly expreſſed during the courſe of

(79) This Gothic chieftain is called by Jornandes and Iſidore, *Athaulphus*; by Zoſimus and Oroſius, *Ataulphus*; and by Olympiodorus, *Adaoulphus*. I have uſed the celebrated name of *Adolphus*, which ſeems to be authoriſed by the practice of the Swedes, the ſons or brothers of the ancient Goths.

(80) The treaty between Alaric and the Romans, &c. is taken from Zoſimus, l. v. p. 354, 355. 358, 359. 362, 363. The additional circumſtances are too few and trifling to require any other quotation.

the negociations, could only inſpire a doubt of his ſincerity, as they might ſeem inadequate to the ſtate of his fortune. The Barbarian ſtill aſpired to the rank of maſter-general of the armies of the Weſt; he ſtipulated an annual ſubſidy of corn and money; and he choſe the provinces of Dalmatia, Noricum, and Venetia, for the ſeat of his new kingdom, which would have commanded the important communication between Italy and the Danube. If theſe modeſt terms ſhould be rejected, Alaric ſhewed a diſpoſition to relinquiſh his pecuniary demands, and even to content himſelf with the poſſeſſion of Noricum; an exhauſted and impoveriſhed country, perpetually expoſed to the inroads of the Barbarians of Germany (81). But the hopes of peace were diſappointed by the weak obſtinacy, or intereſted views, of the miniſter Olympius. Without liſtening to the ſalutary remonſtrances of the ſenate, he diſmiſſed their ambaſſadors under the conduct of a military eſcort, too numerous for a retinue of honour, and too feeble for an army of defence. Six thouſand Dalmatians, the flower of the Imperial legions, were ordered to march from Ravenna to Rome, through an open country, which was occupied by the formidable myriads of the Barbarians. Theſe brave legionaries, encompaſſed and betrayed, fell a ſacrifice to miniſterial folly; their general Valens, with an hundred ſoldiers, eſcaped from the field of battle; and one of the ambaſſadors, who could no longer claim the protection of the law of nations, was obliged to purchaſe his freedom with a ranſom of thirty thouſand pieces of gold. Yet

(81) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 367, 368, 369.

Yet Alaric, inſtead of reſenting this act of impotent hoſtility, immediately renewed his propoſals of peace: and the ſecond embaſſy of the Roman ſenate, which derived weight and dignity from the preſence of Innocent, biſhop of the city, was guarded from the dangers of the road by a detachment of Gothic ſoldiers (82).

Change and ſucceſſion of miniſters.

Olympius (83) might have continued to inſult the juſt reſentment of a people, who loudly accuſed him as the author of the public calamities; but his power was undermined by the ſecret intrigues of the palace. The favourite eunuchs transferred the government of Honorius, and the empire, to Jovius, the Prætorian præfect; an unworthy ſervant, who did not atone, by the merit of perſonal attachment, for the errors and misfortunes of his adminiſtration. The exile, or eſcape, of the guilty Olympius, reſerved him for more viciſſitudes of fortune: he experienced the adventures of an obſcure and wandering life; he again roſe to power; he fell a ſecond time into diſgrace; his ears were cut off; he expired under the laſh; and his ignominious death afforded a grateful ſpectacle to the friends of Stilicho. After the removal of Olympius, whoſe character was deeply tainted with religious fanaticiſm, the Pagans and heretics were delivered from the impolitic proſcription, which excluded them from the dignities of the ſtate.

(82) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 360, 361, 362. The biſhop, by remaining at Ravenna, eſcaped the impending calamities of the city. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 39. p. 573.

(83) For the adventures of Olympius, and his ſucceſſors in the miniſtry, ſee Zoſimus, l. v. p. 363. 365, 366. and Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181.

The brave Gennerid (84), a ſoldier of Barbarian origin, who ſtill adhered to the worſhip of his anceſtors, had been obliged to lay aſide the military belt: and though he was repeatedly aſſured by the emperor himſelf, that laws were not made for perſons of his rank or merit, he refuſed to accept any partial diſpenſation, and perſevered in honourable diſgrace, till he had extorted a general act of juſtice from the diſtreſs of the Roman government. The conduct of Gennerid, in the important ſtation, to which he was promoted or reſtored, of maſter-general of Dalmatia, Pannonia, Noricum, and Rhætia, ſeemed to revive the diſcipline and ſpirit of the republic. From a life of idleneſs and want, his troops were ſoon habituated to ſevere exerciſe, and plentiful ſubſiſtence; and his private generoſity often ſupplied the rewards, which were denied by the avarice, or poverty, of the court of Ravenna. The valour of Gennerid, formidable to the adjacent Barbarians, was the firmeſt bulwark of the Illyrian frontier; and his vigilant care aſſiſted the empire with a reinforcement of ten thouſand Huns, who arrived on the confines of Italy, attended by ſuch a convoy of proviſions, and ſuch a numerous train of ſheep and oxen, as might have been ſufficient, not only for the march of an army, but for the ſettlement of a colony. But the court and councils of Honorius

(84) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 364.) relates this circumſtance with viſible complacency, and celebrates the character of Gennerid as the laſt glory of expiring paganiſm. Very different were the ſentiments of the council of Carthage, who deputed four biſhops to the court of Ravenna, to complain of the law, which had been juſt enacted, that all converſions to Chriſtianity ſhould be free and voluntary. See Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 409. No. 12. A. D. 410. No. 47, 48.

rius ſtill remained a ſcene of weakneſs and diſtraction, of corruption and anarchy. Inſtigated by the præfect Jovius, the guards roſe in furious mutiny, and demanded the heads of two generals, and of the two principal eunuchs. The generals, under a perfidious promiſe of ſafety, were ſent on ſhip-board, and privately executed; while the favour of the eunuchs procured them a mild and ſecure exile at Milan and Conſtantinople. Euſebius the eunuch, and the Barbarian Allobich, ſucceeded to the command of the bed-chamber and of the guards; and the mutual jealouſy of theſe ſubordinate miniſters was the cauſe of their mutual deſtruction. By the inſolent order of the count of the domeſtics, the great chamberlain was ſhamefully beaten to death with ſticks, before the eyes of the aſtoniſhed emperor; and the ſubſequent aſſaſſination of Allobich, in the midſt of a public proceſſion, is the only circumſtance of his life, in which Honorius diſcovered the fainteſt ſymptom of courage or reſentment. Yet before they fell, Euſebius and Allobich had contributed their part to the ruin of the empire, by oppoſing the concluſion of a treaty which Jovius, from a ſelfiſh, and perhaps a criminal, motive, had negociated with Alaric, in a perſonal interview under the walls of Rimini. During the abſence of Jovius, the emperor was perſuaded to aſſume a lofty tone of inflexible dignity, ſuch as neither his ſituation, nor his character, could enable him to ſupport: and a letter, ſigned with the name of Honorius, was immediately diſpatched to the Prætorian præfect, granting him a free permiſſion to diſpoſe of the public money, but ſternly refuſing to proſtitute the military honours of

Rome

Rome to the proud demands of a Barbarian. This letter was imprudently communicated to Alaric himſelf; and the Goth, who in the whole tranſaction had behaved with temper and decency, expreſſed, in the moſt outrageous language, his lively ſenſe of the inſult ſo wantonly offered to his perſon, and to his nation. The conference of Rimini was haſtily interrupted; and the præfect Jovius, on his return to Ravenna, was compelled to adopt, and even to encourage, the faſhionable opinions of the court. By his advice and example, the principal officers of the ſtate and army were obliged to ſwear, that, without liſtening, in *any* circumſtances, to *any* conditions of peace, they would ſtill perſevere in perpetual and implacable war againſt the enemy of the republic. This raſh engagement oppoſed an inſuperable bar to all future negociation. The miniſters of Honorius were heard to declare, that, if they had only invoked the name of the Deity, they would conſult the public ſafety, and truſts their ſouls to the mercy of Heaven; but they had ſworn, by the ſacred head of the emperor himſelf; they had touched, in ſolemn ceremony, that auguſt ſeat of majeſty and wiſdom; and the violation of their oath would expoſe them to the temporal penalties of ſacrilege and rebellion (85).

While

(85) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 367, 368, 369. This cuſtom of ſwearing by the head, or life, or ſafety, or genius, of the ſovereign, was of the higheſt antiquity, both in Egypt (Geneſis xlii. 15.) and Scythia. It was ſoon transferred, by flattery, to the Cæſars; and Tertullian complains, that it was the only oath which the Romans of his time affected to reverence. See an elegant Diſſertation of the Abbé Maſſieu on the Oaths of the Ancients, in the Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. i. p. 208, 209.

While the emperor and his court enjoyed, with ſullen pride, the ſecurity of the marſhes and fortifications of Ravenna, they abandoned Rome, almoſt without defence, to the reſentment of Alaric. Yet ſuch was the moderation which he ſtill preſerved, or affected, that, as he moved with his army along the Flaminian way, he ſucceſſively diſpatched the biſhops of the towns of Italy to reiterate his offers of peace, and to conjure the emperor, that he would ſave the city and its inhabitants from hoſtile fire, and the ſword of the Barbarians (86). Theſe impending calamities were however averted, not indeed by the wiſdom of Honorius, but by the prudence or humanity of the Gothic king; who employed a milder, though not leſs effectual, method of conqueſt. Inſtead of aſſaulting the capital, he ſucceſsfully directed his efforts againſt the *Port* of Oſtia, one of the boldeſt and moſt ſtupendous works of Roman magnificence (87). The accidents to which the precarious ſubſiſtence of the city was continually expoſed in a winter-navigation, and an open road, had ſuggeſted to the genius of the firſt Cæſar the uſeful deſign, which was executed under the reign of Claudius. The artificial moles, which formed the narrow entrance, advanced far into the ſea, and firmly repelled

Second ſiege of Rome by the Goths, A. D. 409.

(86) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 368, 369. I have ſoftened the expreſſions of Alaric, who expatiates, in too florid a manner, on the hiſtory of Rome.

(87) See Sueton. in Claud. c. 20. Dion Caſſius, l. lx. p. 949. edit. Reimar. and the lively deſcription of Juvenal, Satir. xii. 75, &c. In the ſixteenth century, when the remains of this Auguſtan port were ſtill viſible, the antiquarians ſketched the plan (ſee d'Anville, Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxx. 198.), and declared, with enthuſiaſm, that all the monarchs of Europe would be unable to execute ſo great a work (Bergier, Hiſt. des grands Chemins des Romains, tom. ii. p. 356.).

repelled the fury of the waves, while the largeſt veſſels ſecurely rode at anchor within three deep and capacious baſons, which received the northern branch of the Tyber, about two miles from the ancient colony of Oſtia (88). The Roman *Port* inſenſibly ſwelled to the ſize of an épiſcopal city (89), where the corn of Africa was depoſited in ſpacious granaries for the uſe of the capital. As ſoon as Alaric was in poſſeſſion of that important place, he ſummoned the city to ſurrender at diſcretion; and his demands were enforced by the poſitive declaration, that a refuſal, or even a delay, ſhould be inſtantly followed by the deſtruction of the magazines, on which the life of

(88) The *Oſtia Tyberina* (ſee Cluver. Italia Antiq. l. iii. p. 870—879.), in the plural number, the two mouths of the Tyber, were ſeparated by the Holy Iſland, an equilateral triangle, whoſe ſides were each of them computed at about two miles. The colony of Oſtia was founded immediately beyond the left, or ſouthern, and the *Port* immediately beyond the right, or northern, branch of the river; and the diſtance between their remains meaſures ſomething more than two miles on Cingolani's map. In the time of Strabo, the ſand and mud depoſited by the Tyber, had choked the harbour of Oſtia; the progreſs of the ſame cauſe has added much to the ſize of the Holy Iſland, and gradually left both Oſtia and the Port at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſhore. The dry channels (fiumi morti), and the large eſtuaries (ſtagno di Ponente, de Levante), mark the changes of the river, and the efforts of the ſea. Conſult, for the preſent ſtate of this dreary and deſolate tract, the excellent map of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate by the mathematicians of Benedict XIV.; an actual ſurvey of the *Agro Romano*, in ſix ſheets, by Cingolani, which contains 113,819 *rubbia* (about 570,000 acres): and the large topographical map of Ameti, in eight ſheets.

(89) As early as the third, (Lardner's Credibility of the Goſpel, part ii. vol. iii. p. 89—92.) or at leaſt the fourth, century (Carol. a Sancto Paulo, Notit. Eccleſ. p. 47.), the Port of Rome was an epiſcopal city, which was demoliſhed, as it ſhould ſeem, in the ninth century, by pope Gregory IV. during the incurſions of the Arabs. It is now reduced to an inn, a church, and the houſe, or palace, of the biſhop, who ranks as one of ſix cardinal-biſhops of the Roman church. See Eſchinard, Deſcrizione di Roma et dell' Agro Romano, p. 328.

of the Roman people depended. The clamours of that people, and the terror of famine, ſubdued the pride of the ſenate; they liſtened, without reluctance, to the propoſal of placing a new emperor on the throne of the unworthy Honorius; and the ſuffrage of the Gothic conqueror beſtowed the purple on Attalus, præfect of the city. The grateful monarch immediately acknowledged his protector as maſter-general of the armies of the Weſt; Adolphus, with the rank of count of the domeſtics, obtained the cuſtody of the perſon of Attalus; and the two hoſtile nations ſeemed to be united in the cloſeſt bands of friendſhip and alliance (90).

Attalus is created emperor by the Goths and Romans.

The gates of the city were thrown open, and the new emperor of the Romans, encompaſſed on every ſide by the Gothic arms, was conducted, in tumultuous proceſſion, to the palace of Auguſtus and Trajan. After he had diſtributed the civil and military dignities among his favourites and followers, Attalus convened an aſſembly of the ſenate; before whom, in a formal and florid ſpeech, he aſſerted his reſolution of reſtoring the majeſty of the republic, and of uniting to the empire the provinces of Egypt and the Eaſt, which had once acknowledged the ſovereignty of Rome. Such extravagant promiſes inſpired every reaſonable citizen with a juſt contempt for the character of an unwarlike uſurper; whoſe elevation was the deepeſt and moſt ignominious wound which the republic had yet ſuſtained from the inſolence of the Barbarians.

(90) For the elevation of Attalus, conſult Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 377—380. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 8, 9. Olympiodor. ap. Phot. p. 180, 181. Philoſtorg. l. xii. c. 3. and Godefroy, Diſſertat. p. 470.

Barbarians. But the populace, with their uſual levity, applauded the change of maſters. The public diſcontent was favourable to the rival of Honorius; and the ſectaries, oppreſſed by his perſecuting edicts, expected ſome degree of countenance, or at leaſt of toleration, from a prince, who, in his native country, of Ionia, had been educated in the Pagan ſuperſtition, and who had ſince received the ſacrament of baptiſm from the hands of an Arian biſhop (91). The firſt days of the reign of Attalus were fair and proſperous. An officer of confidence was ſent with an inconſiderable body of troops to ſecure the obedience of Africa; the greateſt part of Italy ſubmitted to the terror of the Gothic powers; and though the city of Bologna made a vigorous and effectual reſiſtance, the people of Milan, diſſatisfied perhaps with the abſence of Honorius, accepted, with loud acclamations, the choice of the Roman ſenate. At the head of a formidable army, Alaric conducted his royal captive almoſt to the gates of Ravenna; and a ſolemn embaſſy of the principal miniſters, of Jovius, the Prætorian præfect, of Valens, maſter of the cavalry and infantry, of the quæſtor Potamius, and of Julian, the firſt of the notaries, was introduced, with martial pomp, into the Gothic camp. In the name of their ſovereign, they conſented to acknowledge the lawful election of his competitor, and to divide the provinces of Italy and the Weſt between the two emperors.

(91) We may admit the evidence Sozomen for the Arian baptiſm, and that of Philoſtorgius for the Pagan education, of Attalus. The viſible joy of Zoſimus, and the diſcontent which he imputes to the Anician family, are very unfavourable to the Chriſtianity of the new emperor.

emperors. Their propoſals were rejected with diſdain; and the refuſal was aggravated by the inſulting clemency of Attalus, who condeſcended to promiſe, that, if Honorius would inſtantly reſign the purple, he ſhould be permitted to paſs the remainder of his life in the peaceful exile of ſome remote iſland (92). So deſperate indeed did the ſituation of the ſon of Theodoſius appear, to thoſe who were the beſt acquainted with his ſtrength and reſources, that Jovius and Valens, his miniſter and his general, betrayed their truſt, infamouſly deſerted the ſinking cauſe of their benefactor, and devoted their treacherous allegiance to the ſervice of his more fortunate rival. Aſtoniſhed by ſuch examples of domeſtic treaſon, Honorius trembled at the approach of every ſervant, at the arrival of every meſſenger. He dreaded the ſecret enemies, who might lurk in his capital, his palace, his bed-chamber; and ſome ſhips lay ready in the harbour of Ravenna, to tranſport the abdicated monarch to the dominions of his infant nephew, the emperor of the Eaſt.

He is degraded by Alaric, A.D. 410.

But there *is* a Providence (ſuch at leaſt was the opinion of the hiſtorian Procopius) (93) that watches over innocence and folly; and the pretenſions of Honorius to its peculiar care cannot reaſonably be diſputed. At the moment when his deſpair, incapable of any wiſe or manly reſolution, meditated a ſhameful flight, a ſeaſonable reinforcement of four thouſand veterans unexpectedly

(92) He carried his inſolence ſo far, as to declare, that he ſhould mutilate Honorius before he ſent him into exile. But this aſſertion of Zoſimus is deſtroyed by the more impartial teſtimony of Olympiodorus, who attributes the ungenerous propoſal (which was abſolutely rejected by Attalus) to the baſeneſs, and perhaps the treachery, of Jovius.

(93) Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.

pectedly landed in the port of Ravenna. To theſe valiant ſtrangers, whoſe fidelity had not been corrupted by the factions of the court, he committed the walls and gates of the city; and the ſlumbers of the emperor were no longer diſturbed by the apprehenſion of imminent and internal danger. The favourable intelligence which was received from Africa, ſuddenly changed the opinions of men, and the ſtate of public affairs. The troops and officers, whom Attalus had ſent into that province, were defeated and ſlain; and the active zeal of Heraclian maintained his own allegiance, and that of his people. The faithful count of Africa tranſmitted a large ſum of money, which fixed the attachment of the Imperial guards; and his vigilance, in preventing the exportation of corn and oil, introduced famine, tumult, and diſcontent, into the walls of Rome. The failure of the African expedition, was the ſource of mutual complaint and recrimination in the party of Attalus; and the mind of his protector was inſenſibly alienated from the intereſt of a prince, who wanted ſpirit to command, or docility to obey. The moſt imprudent meaſures were adopted, without the knowledge, or againſt the advice, of Alaric; and the obſtinate refuſal of the ſenate, to allow, in the embarkation, the mixture even of five hundred Goths, betrayed a ſuſpicious and diſtruſtful temper, which, in their ſituation, was neither generous nor prudent. The reſentment of the Gothic king was exaſperated by the malicious arts of Jovius, who had been raiſed to the rank of patrician, and who afterwards excuſed his double perfidy, by declaring, without a bluſh, that he had only *ſeemed* to abandon the ſervice

of

of Honorius, more effectually to ruin the cauſe of the uſurper. In a large plain near Rimini, and in the preſence of an innumerable multitude of Romans and Barbarians, the wretched Attalus was publicly deſpoiled of the diadem and purple; and thoſe enſigns of royalty were ſent by Alaric, as the pledge of peace and friendſhip, to the ſon of Theodoſius (94). The officers who returned to their duty, were reinſtated in their employments, and even the merit of a tardy repentance was graciouſly allowed: but the degraded emperor of the Romans, deſirous of life, and inſenſible of diſgrace, implored the permiſſion of following the Gothic camp, in the train of a haughty and capricious Barbarian (95).

Third ſiege and ſack of Rome by the Goths, A. D. 410, Auguſt 24.

The degradation of Attalus removed the only real obſtacle to the concluſion of the peace; and Alaric advanced within three miles of Ravenna, to preſs the irreſolution of the Imperial miniſters, whoſe inſolence ſoon returned with the return of fortune. His indignation was kindled by the report, that a rival chieftain, that Sarus, the perſonal enemy of Adolphus, and the hereditary foe of the houſe of Balti, had been received into the palace. At the head of three hundred followers, that fearleſs Barbarian immediately ſallied from the gates of Ravenna; ſurpriſed, and cut in pieces, a conſiderable body of Goths; re-

(94) See the cauſe and circumſtances of the fall of Attalus in Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 380—383. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 8. Philoſtorg. l. xii. c. 3. The two acts of indemnity in the Theodoſian Code, l. ix. tit. xxxviii. leg. 11, 12. which were publiſhed the 12th of February, and the 8th of Auguſt, A. D. 410, evidently relate to this uſurper.

(95) In hoc, Alaricus, imperatore, facto, infecto, refecto, ac defecto. . . . Mimum riſit, et ludum ſpectavit imperii. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 42. p. 582.

re-entered the city in triumph; and was permitted to inſult his adverſary, by the voice of a herald, who publicly declared, that the guilt of Alaric had for ever excluded him from the friendſhip and alliance of the emperor (96). The crime and folly of the court of Ravenna was expiated, a third time, by the calamities of Rome. The king of the Goths, who no longer diſſembled his appetite for plunder and revenge, appeared in arms under the walls of the capital; and the trembling ſenate, without any hopes of relief, prepared, by a deſperate reſiſtance, to delay the ruin of their country. But they were unable to guard againſt the the ſecret conſpiracy of their ſlaves and domeſtics; who, either from birth or intereſt, were attached to the cauſe of the enemy. At the hour of midnight, the Salarian gate was ſilently opened, and the inhabitants were awakened by the tremendous ſound of the Gothic trumpet. Eleven hundred and ſixty-three years after the foundation of Rome, the Imperial city, which had ſubdued and civiliſed ſo conſiderable a part of mankind, was delivered to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia (97).

The

(96) Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 384. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 9. Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 3. In this place the text of Zoſimus is mutilated, and we have loſt the remainder of his ſixth and laſt book, which ended with the ſack of Rome. Credulous and partial as he is, we muſt take our leave of that hiſtorian with ſome regret.

(97) Adeſt Alaricus, trepidam Romam obſidet, turbat, irrumpit. Oroſius, l. vii. c. 39. p. 573. He diſpatches this great event in ſeven words; but he employs whole pages in celebrating the devotion of the Goths. I have extracted from an improbable ſtory of Procopius, the circumſtances which had an air of probability. Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. He ſuppoſes, that the city was ſurpriſed while the ſenators ſlept in the afternoon; but

The proclamation of Alaric, when he forced his entrance into a vanquiſhed city, diſcovered, however, ſome regard for the laws of humanity and religion. He encouraged his troops boldly to ſeize the rewards of valour, and to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of a wealthy and effeminate people: but he exhorted them, at the ſame time, to ſpare the lives of the unreſiſting citizens, and to reſpect the churches of the apoſtles, St. Peter and St. Paul, as holy and inviolable ſanctuaries. Amidſt the horrors of a nocturnal tumult, ſeveral of the Chriſtian Goths diſplayed the fervour of a recent converſion; and ſome inſtances of their uncommon piety and moderation are related, and perhaps adorned, by the zeal of eccleſiaſtical writers (98). While the Barbarians roamed through the city in queſt of prey, the humble dwelling of an aged virgin, who had devoted her life to the ſervice of the altar, was forced open by one of the powerful Goths. He immediately demanded, though in civil language, all the gold and ſilver in her poſſeſſion; and was aſtoniſhed at the readineſs with which ſhe conducted him to a ſplendid hoard of maſſy plate, of the richeſt materials, and the moſt

Reſpect of the Goths for the Chriſtian religion.

but Jerom, with more authority and more reaſon, affirms, that it was in the night, nocte Moab capta eſt; nocte cecidit murus ejus, tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam.

(98) Oroſius (l. vii. c. 39. p. 573—576.) applauds the piety of the Chriſtian Goths, without ſeeming to perceive that the greateſt part of them were Arian heretics. Jornandes (c. 30. p. 653.), and Iſidore of Seville (Chron. p. 714. edit. Grot.), who were both attached to the Gothic cauſe, have repeated and embelliſhed theſe edifying tales. According to Iſidore, Alaric himſelf was heard to ſay, that he waged war with the Romans, and not with the Apoſtles. Such was the ſtyle of the ſeventh century, two hundred years before, the fame and merit had been aſcribed, not to the apoſtles, but to Chriſt.

moſt curious workmanſhip. The Barbarian viewed with wonder and delight this valuable acquiſition, till he was interrupted by a ſerious admonition, addreſſed to him in the following words: "Theſe, ſaid ſhe, are the conſecrated "veſſels belonging to St. Peter; if you preſume "to touch them, the ſacrilegious deed will re-"main on your conſcience. For my part, I "dare not keep what I am unable to defend." The Gothic captain, ſtruck with reverential awe, diſpatched a meſſenger to inform the king of the treaſure which he had diſcovered; and received a peremptory order from Alaric, that all the conſecrated plate and ornaments ſhould be tranſported, without damage or delay, to the church of the apoſtle. From the extremity, perhaps, of the Quirinal hill, to the diſtant quarter of the Vatican, a numerous detachment of Goths marching in order of battle through the principal ſtreets, protected, with glittering arms, the long train of their devout companions, who bore aloft, on their heads, the ſacred veſſels of gold and ſilver; and the martial ſhouts of the Barbarians were mingled with the ſound of religious pſalmody. From all the adjacent houſes, a crowd of Chriſtians haſtened to join this edifying proceſſion; and a multitude of fugitives, without diſtinction of age, or rank, or even of ſect, had the good fortune to eſcape to the ſecure and hoſpitable ſanctuary of the Vatican. The learned work, concerning the *City of God*, was profeſſedly compoſed by St. Auguſtin, to juſtify the ways of Providence in the deſtruction of the Roman greatneſs. He celebrates, with peculiar ſatisfaction, this memorable triumph of Chriſt; and inſults his adverſaries, by challenging

challenging them to produce ſome ſimilar example, of a town taken by ſtorm, in which the fabulous gods of antiquity had been able to protect either themſelves, or their deluded votaries (99).

Pillage and fire of Rome.

In the ſack of Rome, ſome rare and extraordinary examples of Barbarian virtue have been deſervedly applauded. But the holy precincts of the Vatican, and the apoſtolic churches, could receive a very ſmall proportion of the Roman people: many thouſand warriors, more eſpecially of the Huns, who ſerved under the ſtandard of Alaric, were ſtrangers to the name, or at leaſt to the faith, of Chriſt; and we may ſuſpect, without any breach of charity or candour, that, in the hour of ſavage licence, when every paſſion was inflamed, and every reſtraint was removed, the precepts of the goſpel ſeldom influenced the behaviour of the Gothic Chriſtians. The writers, the beſt diſpoſed to exaggerate their clemency, have freely confeſſed, that a cruel ſlaughter was made of the Romans (100); and that the ſtreets of the city were filled with dead bodies, which remained without burial during the general conſternation. The deſpair of the

(99) See Auguſtin, de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 1—6. He particularly appeals to the examples of Troy, Syracuſe, and Tarentum.

(100) Jerom (tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam,) has applied to the ſack of Rome all the ſtrong expreſſions of Virgil:

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando,
Explicet, &c.

Procopius (l. i. c. 12, 13.) poſitively affirms, that great numbers were ſlain by the Goths. Auguſtin (de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 12, 13). offers Chriſtian comfort for the death of thoſe, whoſe bodies *(multa corpora)* had remained *(in tantâ ſtrage)* unburied. Baronius, from the different writings of the Fathers, has thrown ſome light on the ſack of Rome. Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 410. No. 16—44.

citizens was ſometimes converted into fury; and whenever the Barbarians were provoked by oppoſition, they extended the promiſcuous maſſacre to the feeble, the innocent, and the helpleſs. The private revenge of forty thouſand ſlaves was exerciſed without pity or remorſe; and the ignominious laſhes, which they had formerly received, were waſhed away in the blood of the guilty, or obnoxious, families. The matrons and virgins of Rome were expoſed to injuries more dreadful, in the apprehenſion of chaſtity, than death itſelf; and the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian has ſelected an example of female virtue, for the admiration of future ages (101). A Roman lady, of ſingular beauty and orthodox faith, had excited the impatient deſires of a young Goth, who, according to the ſagacious remark of Sozomen, was attached to the Arian hereſy. Exaſperated by her obſtinate reſiſtance, he drew his ſword, and, with the anger of a lover, ſlightly wounded her neck. The bleeding heroine ſtill continued to brave his reſentment, and to repel his love, till the raviſher deſiſted from his unavailing efforts, reſpectfully conducted her to the ſanctuary of the Vatican, and gave ſix pieces of gold to the guards of the church, on condition that they ſhould reſtore her inviolate to the arms of

(101) Sozomen, l. ix. c. 10. Auguſtin (de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 17.) intimates, that ſome virgins or matrons actually killed themſelves to eſcape violation; and though he admires their ſpirit, he is obliged, by his theology, to condemn their raſh preſumption. Perhaps the good biſhop of Hippo was too eaſy in the belief, as well as too rigid in the cenſure, of this act of female heroiſm. The twenty maidens (if they ever exiſted), who threw themſelves into the Elbe, when Magdeburgh was taken by ſtorm, have been multiplied to the number of twelve hundred. See Harte's Hiſtory of Guſtavus Adolphus, vol. i. p. 308.

of her husband. Such instances of courage and generosity were not extremely common. The brutal soldiers satisfied their sensual appetites, without consulting either the inclination, or the duties, of their female captives: and a nice question of casuistry was seriously agitated, Whether those tender victims, who had inflexibly refused their consent to the violation which they sustained, had lost, by their misfortune, the glorious crown of virginity (102). There were other losses indeed of a more substantial kind, and more general concern. It cannot be presumed, that all the Barbarians were at all times capable of perpetrating such amorous outrages; and the want of youth, or beauty, or chastity, protected the greatest part of the Roman women from the danger of a rape. But avarice is an insatiate and universal passion; since the enjoyment of almost every object that can afford pleasure to the different tastes and tempers of mankind, may be procured by the possession of wealth. In the pillage of Rome, a just preference was given to gold and jewels, which contain the greatest value in the smallest compass and weight: but, after these portable riches had been removed by the more diligent robbers, the palaces of Rome were rudely strip-

(102) See Augustin, de Civitat. Dei, l. i. c. 16. 18. He treats the subject with remarkable accuracy; and after admitting that there cannot be any crime, where there is no consent, he adds, sed quia non solum quod ad dolorem, verum etiam quod ad libidinem, pertinet, in corpore alieno perpetrari potest; quicquid tale factum fuerit, etsi retentam constantissimo animo pudicitiam non excutit, pudorem tamen incutit, ne credatur factum cum mentis etiam voluntate, quod fieri fortasse sine carnis aliquâ voluptate non potuit. In c. 18. he makes some curious distinctions between moral and physical virginity.

ped of their ſplendid and coſtly furniture. The ſide-boards of maſſy plate, and the variegated wardrobes of ſilk and purple, were irregularly piled in the waggons, that always followed the march of a Gothic army. The moſt exquiſite works of art were roughly handled, or wantonly deſtroyed: many a ſtatue was melted for the ſake of the precious materials; and many a vaſe, in the diviſion of the ſpoil, was ſhivered into fragments by the ſtroke of a battle-axe. The acquiſition of riches ſerved only to ſtimulate the avarice of the rapacious Barbarians, who proceeded, by threats, by blows, and by tortures, to force from their priſoners the confeſſion of hidden treaſure (103). Viſible ſplendour and expence were alleged as the proof of a plentiful fortune: the appearance of poverty was imputed to a parſimonious diſpoſition; and the obſtinacy of ſome miſers, who endured the moſt cruel torments before they would diſcover the ſecret object of their affection, was fatal to many unhappy wretches, who expired under the laſh, for refuſing to reveal their imaginary treaſures. The edifices of Rome, though the damage has been much exaggerated, received ſome injury from the violence of the Goths. At their entrance through the Salarian gate, they fired the adjacent houſes to guide their march, and to diſtract the attention of the citizens: the flames, which encountered no obſtacle in the diſorder of the

(103) Marcella, a Roman lady, equally reſpectable for her rank, her age, and her piety, was thrown on the ground, and cruelly beaten and whipped, cæſam fuſtibus flagelliſque, &c. Jerom, tom. i. p. 121. ad Principiam. See Auguſtin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. The modern Sacco di Roma, p. 208. gives an idea of the various methods of torturing priſoners for gold.

the night, conſumed many private and public buildings; and the ruins of the palace of Salluſt (104) remained, in the age of Juſtinian, a ſtately monument of the Gothic conflagration (105). Yet a contemporary hiſtorian has obſerved, that fire could ſcarcely conſume the enormous beams of ſolid braſs, and that the ſtrength of man was inſufficient to ſubvert the foundations of ancient ſtructures. Some truth may poſſibly be concealed in his devout aſſertion, that the wrath of Heaven ſupplied the imperfections of hoſtile rage; and that the proud Forum of Rome, decorated with the ſtatues of ſo many gods and heroes, was levelled in the duſt by the ſtroke of lightning (106).

Whatever

(104) The hiſtorian Salluſt, who uſefully practiſed the vices which he has ſo eloquently cenſured, employed the plunder of Numidia to adorn his palace and gardens on the Quirinal hill. The ſpot where the houſe ſtood, is now marked by the church of St. Suſanna, ſeparated only by a ſtreet from the baths of Dioclesian, and not far diſtant from the Salarian gate. See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 192, 193. and the great Plan of Modern Rome, by Nolli.

(105) The expreſſions of Procopius are diſtinct and moderate (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.). The Chronicle of Marcellinus ſpeaks too ſtrongly, partem urbis Romæ cremavit; and the words of Philoſtorgius (ἐν τρισὶ τοῖς δὲ τῆς πόλεως κειμένης, l. xii. c. 3.) convey a falſe and exaggerated idea. Bargæus has compoſed a particular diſſertation (ſee tom. iv. Antiquit. Rom. Græv.) to prove that the edifices of Rome were not ſubverted by the Goths and Vandals.

(106) Oroſius, l. ii. c. 19. p. 143. He ſpeaks as if he diſapproved *all* ſtatues; vel Deum vel hominem mentiuntur. They conſiſted of the kings of Alba and Rome from Æneas, the Romans, illuſtrious either in arms or arts, and the deified Cæſars. The expreſſions which he uſes of *Forum* is ſomewhat ambiguous, ſince there exiſted *five* principal *Fora*; but as they were all contiguous and adjacent, in the plain which is ſurrounded by the Capitoline, the Quirinal, the Eſquiline, and the Palatine hills, they might fairly be conſidered as *one*. See the Roma Antiqua of Donatus, p. 162—201. and the Roma Antica of Nardini, p. 212—273. The former is more uſeful for the ancient deſcriptions, the latter for the actual topography.

Captives and fugitives.

Whatever might be the numbers, of equeſtrian, or plebeian rank, who periſhed in the maſſacre of Rome, it is confidently affirmed that only one ſenator loſt his life by the ſword of the enemy (107). But it was not eaſy to compute the multitudes, who, from an honourable ſtation, and a proſperous fortune, were ſuddenly reduced to the miſerable condition of captives and exiles. As the Barbarians had more occaſion for money, than for ſlaves, they fixed, at a moderate price, the redemption of their indigent priſoners; and the ranſom was often paid by the benevolence of their friends, or the charity of ſtrangers (108). The captives, who were regularly ſold, either in open market, or by private contract, would have legally regained their native freedom, which it was impoſſible for a citizen to loſe, or to alienate (109). But as it was ſoon diſcovered, that the vindication of their liberty would endanger their lives; and that the Goths, unleſs they were tempted to ſell, might be provoked to murder, their uſeleſs priſoners; the civil juriſprudence had been already qualified by a wiſe regulation, that they ſhould be obliged to ſerve the moderate term of five years, till they had diſcharged by their labour the price of their redemption

(107) Oriſius (l. ii. c. 19. p. 142.) compares the cruelty of the Gauls and the clemency of the Goths. Ibi vix quenquam inventum ſenatorem, qui vel abſens evaſerit; hic vix quenquam requiri, qui forte ut latens perierit. But there is an air of rhetoric, and perhaps of falſehood, in this antitheſis; and Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.) affirms, perhaps by an oppoſite exaggeration, that *many* ſenators were put to death with various and exquiſite tortures.

(108) Multi .... Chriſtiani in captivitatem ducti ſunt. Auguſtin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 14; and the Chriſtians experienced no peculiar hardſhips.

(109) See Heineccius, Antiquitat. Juris Roman. tom. i. p. 96.

demption (110). The nations who invaded the Roman empire, had driven before them, into Italy, whole troops of hungry and affrighted provincials, leſs apprehenſive of ſervitude than of famine. The calamities of Rome and Italy diſperſed the inhabitants to the moſt lonely, the moſt ſecure, the moſt diſtant places of refuge. While the Gothic cavalry ſpread terror and deſolation along the ſea-coaſt of Campania and Tuſcany, the little iſland of Igilium, ſeparated by a narrow channel from the Argentarian promontory, repulſed, or eluded, their hoſtile attempts; and at ſo ſmall a diſtance from Rome, great numbers of citizens were ſecurely concealed in the thick woods of that ſequeſtered ſpot (111). The ample patrimonies, which many ſenatorian families poſſeſſed in Africa, invited them, if they had time, and prudence, to eſcape from the ruin of their country; to embrace the ſhelter of that hoſpitable province. The moſt illuſtrious of theſe fugitives,

(110) Appendix Cod. Theodoſ. xvi. in Sirmond. Opera, tom. i. p. 735. This edict was publiſhed the 11th of December, A. D. 408. and is more reaſonable than properly belonged to the miniſters of Honorius.

(111) Eminus Igilii ſylvoſa cacumina miror:
Quem fraudare ne fas laudis honore ſuæ
Hæc proprios nuper tutata eſt inſula ſaltus;
Sive loci ingenio, ſeu Domini genio.
Gurgite cum modico victricibus obſtitit armis
Tanquam longinquo diſſociata mari.
Hæc multos lacerâ ſuſcepit ab urbe fugatos,
Hic feſſis poſito certa timore ſalus.
Plurima terreno populaverat æquora bello,
Contra naturam claſſe timendus eques
Unum, mira fides, vario diſcrimine portum!
Tam prope Romanis, tam procul eſſe Getis.
Rutilius, in Itinerar. l. i. 325.

The iſland is now called Giglio. See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. p. 502.

fugitives, was the noble and pious Proba (112), the widow of the præfect Petronius. After the death of her huſband, the moſt powerful ſubject of Rome, ſhe had remained at the head of the Anician family, and ſucceſſively ſupplied, from her private fortune, the expence of the conſulſhips of her three ſons. When the city was beſieged and taken by the Goths, Proba ſupported with Chriſtian reſignation, the loſs of immenſe riches; embarked in a ſmall veſſel, from whence ſhe beheld, at ſea, the flames of her burning palace, and fled with her daughter Læta, and her grand-daughter, the celebrated virgin, Demetrias, to the coaſt of Africa. The benevolent profuſion with which the matron diſtributed the fruits, or the price, of her eſtates, contributed to alleviate the misfortunes of exile and captivity. But even the family of Proba herſelf was not exempt from the rapacious oppreſſion of Count Heraclian, who baſely ſold, in matrimonial proſtitution, the nobleſt maidens of Rome to the luſt or avarice of the Syrian merchants. The Italian fugitives were diſperſed through the provinces, along the coaſt of Egypt and Aſia, as far as Conſtantinople and Jeruſalem; and the village of Bethlem, the ſolitary reſidence of St. Jerom and his female converts, was crowded with illuſtrious beggars

(112) As the adventures of Proba and her family are connected with the life of St. Auguſtin, they are diligently illuſtrated by Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiii. p. 620—635. Some time after their arrival in Africa, Demetrias took the veil, and made a vow of virginity; an event which was conſidered as of the higheſt importance to Rome and to the world. All the *Saints* wrote congratulatory letters to her; that of Jerom is ſtill extant (tom. i. p. 62—73. ad Demetriad. de ſervandâ Virginitat.), and contains a mixture of abſurd reaſoning, ſpirited declamation, and curious facts, ſome of which relate to the ſiege and ſack of Rome.

beggars of either ſex, and every age, who excited the public compaſſion by the remembrance of their paſt fortune (113). This awful cataſtrophe of Rome filled the aſtoniſhed empire with grief and terror. So intereſting a contraſt of greatneſs and ruin, diſpoſed the fond credulity of the people to deplore, and even to exaggerate, the afflictions of the queen of cities. The clergy, who applied to recent events the lofty metaphors of Oriental prophecy, were ſometimes tempted to confound the deſtruction of the capital, and the diſſolution of the globe.

Sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V.

There exiſts in human nature a ſtrong propenſity to depreciate the advantages, and to magnify the evils, of the preſent times. Yet, when the firſt emotions had ſubſided, and a fair eſtimate was made of the real damage, the more learned and judicious contemporaries were forced to confeſs, that infant Rome had formerly received more eſſential injury from the Gauls, than ſhe had now ſuſtained from the Goths in her declining age (114). The experience of eleven centuries has enabled poſterity to produce a much more ſingular parallel; and to affirm with confidence, that the ravages of the Barbarians, whom Alaric had led from the banks of the Danube, were leſs deſtructive than the hoſtilities exerciſed by the troops of Charles the Fifth, a Catholic prince,

(113) See the pathetic complaint of Jerom (tom. v. p. 400.), in his preface to the ſecond book of his Commentaries on the prophet Ezekiel.

(114) Oroſius, though with ſome theological partiality, ſtates this compariſon, l. ii. c. 19. p. 142. l. vii. c 39. p. 575. But, in the hiſtory of the taking of Rome by the Gauls, every thing is uncertain, and perhaps fabulous. See Beaufort ſur l'Incertitude, &c. de l'Hiſtoire Romaine, p. 356; and Melot, in the Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcript. tom. xv. p. 1—21.

prinoe, who ſtyled himſelf Emperor of the Romans (115). The Goths evacuated the city at the end of ſix days, but Rome remained above nine months in the poſſeſſion of the Imperialiſts; and every hour was ſtained by ſome atrocious act of cruelty, luſt, and rapine. The authority of Alaric preſerved ſome order and moderation among the ferocious multitude, which acknowledged him for their leader and king; but the conſtable of Bourbon had glorioufly fallen in the attack of the walls; and the death of the general removed every reſtraint of diſcipline, from an army which conſiſted of three independent nations, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Germans. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the manners of Italy exhibited a remarkable ſcene of the depravity of mankind. They united the ſanguinary crimes that prevail in an unſettled ſtate of ſociety, with the poliſhed vices which ſpring from the abuſe of art and luxury: and the looſe adventurers, who had violated every prejudice of patriotiſm and ſuperſtition to aſſault the palace of the Roman pontiff, muſt deſerve to be conſidered as the moſt profligate of the *Italians*. At the ſame æra, the *Spaniards* were the terror both of the Old and New World:

(115) The reader who wiſhes to inform himſelf of the circumſtances of this famous event, may peruſe an admirable narrative in Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 283; or conſult the Annali d'Italia of the learned Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 230—244. octavo edition. If he is deſirous of examining the originals, he may have recourſe to the eighteenth book of the great, but unfiniſhed, hiſtory of Guicciardini. But the account which moſt truly deſerves the name of authentic and original, is a little book, intitled, *Il Sacco di Roma*, compoſed, within leſs than a month after the aſſault of the city, by the brother of the hiſtorian Guicciardini, who appears to have been an able magiſtrate, and a diſpaſſionate writer.

World: but their high-ſpirited valour was diſgraced by gloomy pride, rapacious avarice, and unrelenting cruelty. Indefatigable in the purſuit of fame and riches, they had improved, by repeated practice, the moſt exquiſite and effectual methods of torturing their priſoners: many of the Caſtilians, who pillaged Rome, were familiars of the holy inquiſition; and ſome volunteers, perhaps, were lately returned from the conqueſt of Mexico. The Germans were leſs corrupt than the Italians, leſs cruel than the Spaniards; and the ruſtic, or even ſavage, aſpect of thoſe *Tramontane* warriors, often diſguiſed a ſimple and merciful diſpoſition. But they had imbibed, in the firſt fervour of the reformation, the ſpirit, as well as the principles, of Luther. It was their favourite amuſement to inſult, or deſtroy, the conſecrated objects of Catholic ſuperſtition: they indulged, without pity, or remorſe, a devout hatred againſt the clergy of every denomination and degree, who form ſo conſiderable a part of the inhabitants of modern Rome; and their fanatic zeal might aſpire to ſubvert the throne of Antichriſt, to purify, with blood and fire, the abominations of the ſpiritual Babylon (116).

Alaric evacuates Rome, and ravages Italy. A. D. 410. Auguſt 29.

The retreat of the victorious Goths, who evacuated Rome on the ſixth day (117), might be the reſult of prudence; but it was not ſurely the effect

(116) The furious ſpirit of Luther, the effect of temper and enthuſiaſm, has been forcibly attacked (Boſſuet, Hiſt. des Variations des Egliſes Proteſtantes, livre i. p. 20—36.), and feebly defended (Seckendorf, Comment. de Lutheraniſmo, eſpecially l. i. No. 78. p. 120. and l. iii. No. 122. p. 556.).

(117) Marcellinus, in Chron. Oroſius (l. vii. c. 39. p. 575.) aſſerts, that he left Rome on the *third* day; but this difference is eaſily reconciled by the ſucceſſive motions of great bodies of troops.

effect of fear (118). At the head of an army, encumbered with rich and weighty ſpoils, their intrepid leader advanced along the Appian way into the ſouthern provinces of Italy, deſtroying whatever dared to oppoſe his paſſage, and contenting himſelf with the plunder of the unreſiſting country. The fate of Capua, the proud and luxurious metropolis of Campania, and which was reſpected, even in its decay, as the eighth city of the empire (119), is buried in oblivion; whilſt the adjacent town of Nola (120) has been illuſtrated, on this occaſion, by the ſanctity of Paulinus (121), who was ſucceſſively a conſul, a monk, and a biſhop. At the age of forty, he renounced the enjoyment of wealth and honour, of ſociety and literature, to embrace a life of ſolitude and pennance; and the loud applauſe of the clergy encouraged him to deſpiſe the reproaches of his worldly friends, who aſcribed this deſperate act to ſome diſorder of the mind or body (122). An early and paſſionate attachment determined

(118) Socrates (l. vii. c. 10.) pretends, without any colour of truth, or reaſon, that Alaric fled on the report, that the armies of the Eaſtern empire were in full march to attack him.

(119) Auſonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 233. edit. Toll. The luxury of Copua had formerly ſurpaſſed that of Sybaris itſelf. See Athenæus Deipnoſophiſt. l. xii. p. 528. edit. Caſaubon.

(120) Forty-eight years before the foundation of Rome (about 800 before the Chriſtian æra), the Tuſcans built Capua and Nola, at the diſtance of twenty-three miles from each other: but the latter of the two cities never emerged from a ſtate of mediocrity.

(121) Tillemont (Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 1—146.) has compiled, with his uſual diligence, all that relates to the life and writings of Paulinus, whoſe retreat is celebrated by his own pen, and by the praiſes of St. Ambroſe, St. Jerom, St. Auguſtin, Sulpicius Severus, &c. his Chriſtian friends and contemporaries.

(122) See the affectionate letters of Auſonius (epiſt. xix.—xxv. p. 650—698. edit. Toll.), to his colleague, his friend, and his

determined him to fix his humble dwelling in one of the ſuburbs of Nola, near the miraculous tomb of St. Fælix, which the public devotion had already ſurrounded with five large and populous churches. The remains of his fortune, and of his underſtanding, were dedicated to the ſervice of the glorious martyr; whoſe praiſe, on the day of his feſtival, Paulinus never failed to celebrate by a ſolemn hymn; and in whoſe name he erected a ſixth church, of ſuperior elegance and beauty, which was decorated with many curious pictures, from the hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament. Such aſſiduous zeal ſecured the favour of the ſaint (123), or at leaſt of the people; and, after fifteen years retirement, the Roman conſul was compelled to accept the biſhopric of Nola, a few months before the city was inveſted by the Goths. During the ſiege, ſome religious perſons were ſatisfied that they had ſeen, either in dreams or viſions, the divine form of their tutelar patron; yet it ſoon appeared by the event, that Fælix wanted power, or inclination, to preſerve the flock, of which he had formerly been the ſhepherd. Nola was not ſaved from the general devaſtation (124); and the captive biſhop was protected only by the general opinion of his innocence and poverty. Above four years elapſed from the ſucceſsful invaſion of Italy by the arms of

his diſciple Paulinus. The religion of Auſonius is ſtill a problem (ſee Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xv. p. 123–138.). I believe that it was ſuch in his own time, and, conſequently, that in his heart he was a Pagan.

(123) The humble Paulinus once preſumed to ſay, that he believed St. Fælix *did* love him; at leaſt, as a maſter loves his little dog.

(124) See Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30. p. 653. Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 3. Auguſtin, de Civ. Dei, l. i. c. 10. Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 410. No. 45, 46.

Poſſeſſion of Italy by the Goths. A. D. 408—412.

of Alaric, to the voluntary retreat of the Goths under the conduct of his ſucceſſor Adolphus; and, during the whole time, they reigned without controul over a country, which, in the opinion of the ancients, had united all the various excellencies of nature and art. The proſperity, indeed, which Italy had attained in the auſpicious age of the Antonines, had gradually declined with the decline of the empire. The fruits of a long peace periſhed under the rude graſp of the Barbarians; and they themſelves were incapable of taſting the more elegant refinements of luxury, which had been prepared for the uſe of the ſoft and poliſhed Italians. Each ſoldier, however, claimed an ample portion of the ſubſtantial plenty, the corn and cattle, oil and wine, that was daily collected, and conſumed, in the Gothic camp; and the principal warriors inſulted the villas, and gardens, once inhabited by Lucullus and Cicero, along the beauteous coaſt of Campania. Their trembling captives, the ſons and daughters of Roman ſenators, preſented, in goblets of gold and gems, large draughts of Falernian wine, to the haughty victors; who ſtretched their huge limbs under the ſhade of plane-trees (125), artificially diſpoſed to exclude the ſcorching rays, and to admit the genial warmth, of the ſun. Theſe delights were enhanced by the memory of paſt hardſhips: the compariſon of

(125) The *platanus*, or plane-tree, was a favourite of the ancients, by whom it was propagated, for the ſake of ſhade, from the Eaſt to Gaul. Pliny, Hiſt. Natur. xii. 3, 4, 5. He mentions ſeveral of an enormous ſize; one in the Imperial villa at Velitræ, which Caligula called his neſt, as the branches were capable of holding a large table, the proper attendants, and the emperor himſelf, whom Pliny quaintly ſtyles *pars umbræ*; an expreſſion which might, with equal reaſon, be applied to Alaric.

of their native ſoil, the bleak and barren hills of Scythia, and the frozen banks of the Elbe and Danube, added new charms to the felicity of the Italian climate (126).

Death of Alaric, A. D. 410.

Whether fame, or conqueſt, or riches, were the object of Alaric, he purſued that object with an indefatigable ardour, which could neither be quelled by adverſity, nor ſatiated by ſucceſs. No ſooner had he reached the extreme land of Italy, than he was attracted by the neighbouring proſpect of a fertile and peaceful iſland. Yet even the poſſeſſion of Sicily, he conſidered only as an intermediate ſtep to the important expedition, which he already meditated againſt the continent of Africa. The ſtreights of Rhegium and Meſſina (127) are twelve miles in length, and, in the narroweſt paſſage, about one mile and a half broad; and the fabulous monſters of the deep, the rocks of Scylla, and the whirlpool of Charibdis, could terrify none but the moſt timid and unſkilful mariners. Yet as ſoon as the firſt diviſion of the Goths had embarked, a ſudden tempeſt aroſe, which ſunk, or ſcattered, many of the tranſports; their courage was

(126) The proſtrate South to the deſtroyer yields
Her boaſted titles, and her golden fields:
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and ſkies of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the opening roſe,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

See Gray's Poems, publiſhed by Mr. Maſon, p. 197. Inſtead of compiling tables of chronology and natural hiſtory, why did not Mr. Gray apply the powers of his genius to finiſh the philoſophic poem, of which he has left ſuch an exquiſite ſpecimen?

(127) For the perfect deſcription of the Streights of Meſſina, Scylla, Charibdis, &c. ſee Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. l. iv. p. 1293. and Sicilia Antiq. l. i. p. 60—76.), who had diligently ſtudied the ancients, and ſurveyed with a curious eye the actual face of the country.

was daunted by the terrors of a new element; and the whole deſign was defeated by the premature death of Alaric, which fixed, after a ſhort illneſs, the fatal term of his conqueſts. The ferocious character of the Barbarians was diſplayed in the funeral of a hero, whoſe valour, and fortune, they celebrated with mournful applauſe. By the labour of a captive multitude, they forcibly diverted the courſe of the Buſentinus, a ſmall river that waſhes the walls of Conſentia. The royal ſepulchre, adorned with the ſplendid ſpoils, and trophies, of Rome, was conſtructed in the vacant bed; the waters were then reſtored to their natural channel; and the ſecret ſpot, where the remains of Alaric had been depoſited, was for ever concealed by the inhuman maſſacre of the priſoners, who had been employed to execute the work (128).

Adolphus king of the Goths concludes a peace with the empire, and marches into Gaul, A. D. 412.

The perſonal animoſities, and hereditary feuds, of the Barbarians, were ſuſpended by the ſtrong neceſſity of their affairs; and the brave Adolphus, the brother-in-law of the deceaſed monarch, was unanimouſly elected to ſucceed to his throne. The character and political ſyſtem of the new king of the Goths, may be beſt underſtood from his own converſation with an illuſtrious citizen of Narbonne; who afterwards, in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, related it to St. Jerom, in the preſence of the hiſtorian Oroſius. "In the "full confidence of valour and victory, I once "aſpired (ſaid Adolphus) to change the face of "the univerſe; to obliterate the name of Rome; "to erect on its ruins the dominion of the Goths; "and to acquire, like Auguſtus, the immortal "fame

(128) Jornandes, de Reb. Get. c. 30. p. 654.

"fame of the founder of a new empire. By "repeated experiments, I was gradually convin- "ced, that laws are eſſentially neceſſary to main- "tain and regulate a well-conſtituted ſtate; and "that the fierce untractable humour of the Goths "was incapable of bearing the ſalutary yoke of "laws, and civil government. From that mo- "ment I propoſed to myſelf a different object of "glory and ambition; and it is now my ſincere "wiſh, that the gratitude of future ages ſhould "acknowledge the merit of a ſtranger, who em- "ployed the ſword of the Goths, not to ſubvert, "but to reſtore and maintain the proſperity of the "Roman empire (129)." With theſe pacific views, the ſucceſſor of Alaric ſuſpended the operations of war; and ſeriouſly negociated with the Imperial court a treaty of friendſhip and alliance. It was the intereſt of the miniſters of Honorius, who were now releaſed from the obligation of their extravagant oath, to deliver Italy from the intolerable weight of the Gothic powers; and they readily accepted their ſervice againſt the tyrants and Barbarians, who infeſted the provinces beyond the Alps (130). Adolphus, aſſuming the character of a Roman general, directed his march from the extremity of Campania

(129) Oroſius, l. vii. c. 43. p. 584, 585. He was ſent by St. Auguſtin, in the year 415, from Africa to Paleſtine, to viſit St. Jerom, and to conſult with him on the ſubject of the Pelagian controverſy.

(130) Jornandes ſuppoſes, without much probability, that Adolphus viſited and plundered Rome a ſecond time (more locuſtarum eraſit). Yet he agrees with Oroſius in ſuppoſing, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Gothic prince and Honorius. See Oroſ. l. vii. c. 43. p. 584, 585. Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 31. p. 654, 655.

to the ſouthern provinces of Gaul. His troops, either by force or agreement, immediately occupied the cities of Narbonne, Thouloufe, and Bourdeaux; and though they were repulſed by Count Boniface from the walls of Marſeilles, they ſoon extended their quarters from the Mediterranean to the Ocean. The oppreſſed provincials might exclaim, that the miſerable remnant, which the enemy had ſpared, was cruelly raviſhed by their pretended allies; yet ſome ſpecious colours were not wanting to palliate, or juſtify, the violence of the Goths. The cities of Gaul, which they attacked, might perhaps be conſidered as in a ſtate of rebellion againſt the government of Honorius: the articles of the treaty, or the ſecret inſtructions of the court, might ſometimes be alleged in favour of the ſeeming uſurpations of Adolphus; and the guilt of any irregular, unſucceſsful, act of hoſtility, might always be imputed, with an appearance of truth, to the ungovernable ſpirit of a Barbarian hoſt, impatient of peace or diſcipline. The luxury of Italy had been leſs effectual to ſoften the temper, than to relax the courage, of the Goths; and they had imbibed the vices, without imitating the arts and inſtitutions, of civiliſed ſociety (131).

The

(131) The retreat of the Goths from Italy, and their firſt tranſactions in Gaul, are dark and doubtful. I have derived much aſſiſtance from Maſcou (Hiſt. of the ancient Germans, l. viii. c. 29, 35, 36, 37.), who has illuſtrated, and connected, the broken chronicles and fragments of the times.

The profeſſions of Adolphus were probably ſincere, and his attachment to the cauſe of the republic was ſecured by the aſcendant which a Roman princeſs had acquired over the heart and underſtanding of the Barbarian king. Placidia (132), the daughter of the great Theodoſius, and of Galla, his ſecond wife, had received a royal education in the palace of Conſtantinople; but the eventful ſtory of her life is connected with the revolutions which agitated the Weſtern empire under the reign of her brother Honorius. When Rome was firſt inveſted by the arms of Alaric, Placidia, who was then about twenty years of age, reſided in the city; and her ready conſent to the death of her couſin Serena, has a cruel and ungrateful appearance, which, according to the circumſtances of the action, may be aggravated, or excuſed, by the conſideration of her tender age (133). The victorious Barbarians detained, either as a hoſtage or a captive (134), the ſiſter of Honorius; but, while ſhe was expoſed to the diſgrace of following round Italy the motions of a Gothic camp, ſhe experienced, however, a decent and reſpectful treatment. The authority of Jornandes, who praiſes the beauty of Placidia, may perhaps be counter-balanced by the ſilence, the expreſſive ſilence, of her flatterers: yet the

His marriage with Placida. A. D. 414.

(132) See an account of Placidia in Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 72.; and Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 260. 386, &c. tom. vi. p. 240.

(133) Zoſim. l. v. p. 350.

(134) Zoſim. l. vi. p. 383. Oroſius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 576.), and the Chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius, ſeem to ſuppoſe, that the Goths did not carry away Placidia till after the laſt ſiege of Rome.

ſplendour of her birth, the bloom of youth, the elegance of manners, and the dexterous inſinuation which ſhe condeſcended to employ, made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Adolphus; and the Gothic king aſpired to call himſelf the brother of the emperor. The miniſters of Honorius rejected with diſdain the propoſal of an alliance, ſo injurious to every ſentiment of Roman pride; and repeatedly urged the reſtitution of Placidia, as an indiſpenſable condition of the treaty of peace. But the daughter of Theodoſius ſubmitted, without reluctance, to the deſires of the conqueror, a young and valiant prince, who yielded to Alaric in loftineſs of ſtature, but who excelled in the more attractive qualities of grace and beauty. The marriage of Adolphus and Placidia (135) was conſummated before the Goths retired from Italy; and the ſolemn, perhaps the anniverſary, day of their nuptials was afterwards celebrated in the houſe of Ingenuus, one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of Narbonne in Gaul. The bride, attired and adorned like a Roman empreſs, was placed on a throne of ſtate; and the king of the Goths, who aſſumed, on this occaſion, the Roman habit, contented himſelf with a leſs honourable ſeat by her ſide. The nuptial gift, which, according

(135) See the pictures of Adolphus and Placidia, and the account of their marriage in Jornandes, de Reb. Geticis, c. 31. p. 654, 655. With regard to the place where the nuptials were ſtipulated, or conſummated, or celebrated, the MSS. of Jornandes vary between two neighbouring cities, Forli and Imola (Forum Livii and Forum Cornelii). It is fair and eaſy to reconcile the Gothic hiſtorian with Olympiodorus (ſee Maſcou, l. viii. c. 36.): but Tillemont grows peeviſh, and ſwears, that it is not worth while to try to conciliate Jornandes with any good authors.

according to the cuſtom of his nation (136), was offered to Placidia, conſiſted of the rare and magnificent ſpoils of her country. Fifty beautiful youths, in ſilken robes, carried a baſon in each hand; and one of theſe baſons was filled with pieces of gold, the other with precious ſtones of an ineſtimable value. Attalus, ſo long the ſport of fortune, and of the Goths, was appointed to lead the chorus of the Hymenæal ſong; and the degraded emperor might aſpire to the praiſe of a ſkilful muſician. The Barbarians enjoyed the inſolence of their triumph; and the provincials rejoiced in this alliance, which tempered, by the mild influence of love and reaſon, the fierce ſpirit of their Gothic lord (137).

The Gothic treaſures.

The hundred baſons of gold and gems, preſented to Placidia at her nuptial feaſt, formed an inconſiderable portion of the Gothic treaſures; of which ſome extraordinary ſpecimens may be ſelected from the hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of Adolphus. Many curious and coſtly ornaments of pure gold, enriched with jewels, were found in their palace of Narbonne,

(136) The Viſigoths (the ſubjects of Adolphus) reſtrained, by ſubſequent laws, the prodigality of conjugal love. It was illegal for a huſband to make any gift or ſettlement for the benefit of his wife during the firſt year of their marriage; and his liberality could not at any time exceed the tenth part of his property. The Lombards were ſomewhat more indulgent: they allowed the *morgingcap* immediately after the wedding-night; and this famous gift, the reward of virginity, might equal the fourth part of the huſband's ſubſtance. Some cautious maidens, indeed, were wiſe enough to ſtipulate before-hand a preſent, which they were ſo ſure of not deſerving. See Monteſquieu, Eſprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 25. Muratori, delle Antichitá Italiane, tom. i. Diſſertation xx. p. 243.

(137) We owe the curious detail of this nuptial feaſt to the hiſtorian Olympiodorus, ap. Photium, p. 185. 188.

bonne, when it was pillaged, in the ſixth cen
tury, by the Franks: ſixty cups, or chalices
fifteen *patens*, or plates, for the uſe of the com
munion; twenty boxes, or caſes, to hold th
books of the goſpels; this conſecrated wealth (138
was diſtributed by the ſon of Clovis amon
the churches of his dominions, and his piou
liberality ſeems to upbraid ſome former ſacri
lege of the Goths. They poſſeſſed, with mor
ſecurity of conſcience, the famous *miſſorium*
or great diſh for the ſervice of the table, o
maſſy gold, of the weight of five hundre
pounds, and of far ſuperior value, from th
precious ſtones, the exquiſite workmanſhip
and the tradition, that it had been preſente
by Ætius the patrician, to Toriſmond king o
the Goths. One of the ſucceſſors of Tori
mond purchaſed the aid of the French mo
narch by the promiſe of this magnificent gif
When he was ſeated on the throne of Spai
he delivered it with reluctance to the ambaſſa
dors of Dagobert; deſpoiled them on the road
ſtipulated, after a long negociation, the inade
quate ranſom of two hundred thouſand pieces o
gold; and preſerved the *miſſorium*, as the pric
of the Gothic treaſury (139). When that trea
ſury

(138) See in the great collection of the hiſtorians of France
Dom Bouquet, tom. ii. Greg. Turonenſ. l. iii. c. 10. p. 19
Geſta Regum Francorum, c. 23. p. 557. The anonymous writ
with an ignorance worthy of his times, ſuppoſes that theſe i
ſtruments of Chriſtian worſhip had belonged to the temple of S
lomon. If he has any meaning, it muſt be, that they w
found in the ſack of Rome.

(139) Conſult the following original teſtimonies in the Hiſ
rians of France, tom. ii. Fredegarii Scholaſtici Chron. c. 73.
441. Fredegar. Fragment. iii. p. 463. Geſta Regis Dagobert.
29. p. 587. The acceſſion of Siſenand to the throne of Sp
happe

ſury, after the conqueſt of Spain, was plundered by the Arabs, they admired, and they have celebrated, another object ſtill more remarkable; a table of conſiderable ſize, of one ſingle piece of ſolid emerald (140), encircled with three rows of fine pearls, ſupported by three hundred and ſixty-five feet of gems and maſſy gold, and eſtimated at the price of five hundred thouſand pieces of gold (141). Some portion of the Gothic treaſures might be the gift of friendſhip, or the tribute of obedience: but the far greater part had been the fruits of war and rapine, the ſpoils of the empire, and perhaps of Rome.

Laws for the relief of Italy and Rome, A. D. 410-417.

After the deliverance of Italy from the oppreſſion of the Goths, ſome ſecret counſellor was permitted, amidſt the factions of the palace, to heal the wounds of that afflicted country (142). By a wiſe and humane regulation, the eight provinces which had been the moſt deeply injured, Campania, Tuſcany, Picenum, Samnium,

happened A. D. 631. The 200,000 pieces of gold were appropriated by Dagobert to the foundation of the church of St. Denys.

(140) The preſident Goguet (Origine des Loix, &c. tom. ii. p. 239.) is of opinion, that the ſtupendous pieces of emerald, the ſtatues and columns, which antiquity has placed in Egypt, at Gades, at Conſtantinople, were in reality artificial compoſitions of coloured glaſs. The famous emerald diſh, which is ſhewn at Genoa, is ſuppoſed to conutenance the ſuſpicion.

(141) Elmacin. Hiſt. Saracenica, l. i. p. 85. Roderic. Tolet. Hiſt. Arab. c. 9. Cardonne, Hiſt. de l'Afrique et de l'Eſpagne ſous les Arabes, tom. i. p. 83. It was called the Table of Solomon, according to the cuſtom of the Orientals, who aſcribe to that prince every ancient work of knowledge or magnificence.

(142) His three laws are inſerted in the Theodoſian Code, l. xi. tit. xxviii. leg. 7. L. xiii. tit. xi. leg. 12. L. xv. tit. xvi. leg. 14. The expreſſions of the laſt are very remarkable; ſince they contain not only a pardon, but an apology.

nium, Apulia, Calabria, Bruttium, and Lucania, obtained an indulgence of five years: the ordinary tribute was reduced to one fifth, and even that fifth was deſtined to reſtore, and ſupport the uſeful inſtitution of the public poſts. By another law, the lands, which had been left without inhabitants or cultivation, were granted, with ſome diminution of taxes, to the neighbours who ſhould occupy, or the ſtrangers who ſhould ſolicit them; and the new poſſeſſors were ſecured againſt the future claims of the fugitive proprietors. About the ſame time, a general amneſty was publiſhed in the name of Honorius, to aboliſh the guilt and memory of all the *involuntary* offences, which had been committed by his unhappy ſubjects, during the term of the public diſorder and calamity. A decent and reſpectful attention was paid to the reſtoration of the capital; the citizens were encouraged to rebuild the edifices which had been deſtroyed or damaged by hoſtile fire; and extraordinary ſupplies of corn were imported from the coaſt of Africa. The crowds that ſo lately fled before the ſword of the Barbarians, were ſoon recalled by the hopes of plenty and pleaſure; and Albinus, præfect of Rome, informed the court, with ſome anxiety and ſurpriſe; that, in a ſingle day, he had taken an account of the arrival of fourteen thouſand ſtrangers (143). In leſs than ſeven years, the veſtiges of the Gothic invaſion were

(143) Olympiodorus ap. Phot. p. 188. Philoſtorgius (l. xii. c. 5.) obſerves, that when Honorius made his triumphal entry, he encouraged the Romans, with his hand and voice (χειρι και φωνη), to rebuild their city; and the Chronicle of Proſper commends Heraclian, qui in Romanæ urbis reparationem ſtrenuum exhibuerat miniſterium.

were almoſt obliterated; and the city appeared to reſume its former ſplendour and tranquillity. The venerable matron replaced her crown of laurel, which had been ruffled by the ſtorms of war; and was ſtill amuſed, in the laſt moment of her decay, with the prophecies of revenge, of victory, and of eternal dominion (144).

Revolt and defeat of Heraclian, count of Africa, A. D. 413.

This apparent tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by the approach of an hoſtile armament from the country which afforded the daily ſubſiſtence of the Roman people. Heraclian, count of Africa, who, under the moſt difficult and diſtreſsful circumſtances, had ſupported, with active loyalty, the cauſe of Honorius, was tempted, in the year of his conſulſhip, to aſſume the character of a rebel, and the title of emperor. The ports of Africa were immediately filled with the naval forces, at the head of which he prepared to invade Italy: and his fleet, when it caſt anchor at the mouth of the Tyber, indeed ſurpaſſed the fleets of Xerxes and Alexander, if *all* the veſſels, including the royal galley, and the ſmalleſt boat, did actually amount to the incredible number of three thouſand two hundred (145). Yet with ſuch an armament, which might

(144) The date of the voyage of Claudius Rutilius Numatianus, is clogged with ſome difficulties; but Scaliger has deduced from aſtronomical characters, that he left Rome the 24th of September, and embarked at Porto the 9th of October, A. D. 416. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 820. In this poetical Itinerary, Rutilius (l. i. 115, &c.) addreſſes Rome in a high ſtrain of congratulation:

Erige crinales lauros, ſeniumque ſacrati
Verticis in virides Roma recinge comas, &c.

(145) Oroſius compoſed his hiſtory in Africa, only two years after the event; yet his authority ſeems to be overbalanced by the improbability of the fact. The Chronicle of Marcellinus gives

might have ſubverted, or reſtored, the greateſt empires of the earth, the African uſurper made a very faint and feeble impreſſion on the provinces of his rival. As he marched from the port, along the road which leads to the gates of Rome, he was encountered, terrified, and routed, by one of the Imperial captains; and the lord of this mighty hoſt, deſerting his fortune and his friends, ignominiouſly fled with a ſingle ſhip (146). When Heraclian landed in the harbour of Carthage, he found that the whole province, diſdaining ſuch an unworthy ruler, had returned to their allegiance. The rebel was beheaded in the ancient temple of Memory; his conſulſhip was aboliſhed (147); and the remains of his private fortune, not exceeding the moderate ſum of four thouſand pounds of gold, were granted to the brave Conſtantius, who had already defended the throne, which he afterwards ſhared with his feeble ſovereign. Honorius viewed, with ſupine indifference, the calamities of Rome and Italy (148); but the rebellious attempts of Attalus and Heraclian, againſt his perſonal

gives Heraclian 700 ſhips, and 3000 men; the latter of theſe numbers is ridiculouſly corrupt; but the former would pleaſe me very much.

(146) The Chronicle of Idatius affirms, without the leaſt appearance of truth, that he advanced as far as Otriculum, in Umbria, where he was overthrown in a great battle, with the loſs of fifty thouſand men.

(147) See Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. xiv. leg. 13. The legal acts performed in his name, even the manumiſſion of ſlaves, were declared invalid, till they had been formerly repeated.

(148) I have diſdained to mention a very fooliſh, and probably a falſe report (Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2.), that Honorius was alarmed by the *loſs* of Rome, till he underſtood that it was not a favourite chicken of that name, but *only* the capital of the world, which had been loſt. Yet even this ſtory is ſome evidence of the public opinion.

perſonal ſafety, awakened, for a moment, the torpid inſtinct of his nature. He was probably ignorant of the cauſes and events which preſerved him from theſe impending dangers; and as Italy was no longer invaded by any foreign or domeſtic enemies, he peaceably exiſted in the palace of Ravenna, while the tyrants beyond the Alps were repeatedly vanquiſhed in the name, and by the lieutenants, of the ſon of Theodoſius (149). In the courſe of a buſy and intereſting narrative, I might poſſibly forget to mention the death of ſuch a prince: and I ſhall therefore take the precaution of obſerving, in this place, that he ſurvived the laſt ſiege of Rome about thirteen years.

Revolutions of Gaul and Spain, A. D. 409—413.

The uſurpation of Conſtantine, who received the purple from the legions of Britain, had been ſucceſsful; and ſeemed to be ſecure. His title was acknowledged, from the wall of Antoninus to the columns of Hercules; and, in the midſt of the public diſorder, he ſhared the dominion, and the plunder, of Gaul and Spain, with the tribes of Barbarians, whoſe deſtructive progreſs was no longer checked by the Rhine or Pyrenees. Stained with the blood of the kinſmen of Honorius, he extorted, from the court of Ravenna, with which he ſecretly cor-

(149) The materials for the lives of all theſe tyrants are taken from ſix contemporaries hiſtorians, two Latins and four Greeks: Oroſius, l. vii. c. 42. p. 581, 582, 583.; Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. l. ii. c. 9. in the hiſtorians of France, tom. ii. p. 165, 166. Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 370, 371. Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 180, 181. 184, 185. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 12, 13, 14, 15.; and Philoſtorgius, l. xii. c. 5, 6., with Godefroy's Diſſertations, p. 477—481.; beſides the four Chronicles of Proſper Tyro, Proſper of Aquitain, Idatius, and Marcellinus.

correſponded, the ratification of his rebellious claims. Conſtantine engaged himſelf, by a ſolemn promiſe, to deliver Italy from the Goths; advanced as far as the banks of the Po; and after alarming, rather than aſſiſting, his puſillanimous ally, haſtily returned to the palace of Arles, to celebrate, with intemperate luxury, his vain and oſtentatious triumph. But this tranſient proſperity was ſoon interrupted and deſtroyed by the revolt of count Gerontius, the braveſt of his generals; who, during the abſence of his ſon Conſtans, a prince already inveſted with the Imperial purple, had been left to command in the provinces of Spain. For ſome reaſon, of which we are ignorant, Gerontius, inſtead of aſſuming the diadem, placed it on the head of his friend Maximus, who fixed his reſidence at Tarragona, while the active count preſſed forwards, through the Pyrenees, to ſurpriſe the two emperors, Conſtantine and Conſtans, before they could prepare for their defence. The ſon was made priſoner at Vienna, and immediately put to death; and the unfortunate youth had ſcarcely leiſure to deplore the elevation of his family; which had tempted, or compelled him, ſacrilegiouſly to deſert the peaceful obſcurity of the monaſtic life. The father maintained a ſiege within the walls of Arles; but thoſe walls muſt have yielded to the aſſailants, had not the city been unexpectedly relieved by the approach of an Italian army. The name of Honorius, the proclamation of a lawful emperor, aſtoniſhed the contending parties of the rebels. Gerontius, abandoned by his own troops, eſcaped to the confines of Spain; and reſcued his name from oblivion, by the Roman

Roman courage which appeared to animate the laſt moments of his life. In the middle of the night, a great body of his perfidious ſoldiers ſurrounded, and attacked his houſe, which he had ſtrongly barricaded. His wife, a valiant friend of the nation of the Alani, and ſome faithful ſlaves, were ſtill attached to his perſon; and he uſed, with ſo much ſkill and reſolution, a large magazine of darts and arrows, that above three hundred of the aſſailants loſt their lives in the attempt. His ſlaves, when all the miſſile weapons were ſpent, fled at the dawn of day; and Gerontius, if he had not been reſtrained by conjugal tenderneſs, might have imitated their example; till the ſoldiers, provoked by ſuch obſtinate reſiſtance, applied fire on all ſides to the houſe. In this fatal extremity, he complied with the requeſt of his Barbarian friend, and cut off his head. The wife of Gerontius, who conjured him not to abandon her to a life of miſery and diſgrace, eagerly preſented her neck to his ſword; and the tragic ſcene was terminated by the death of the count himſelf, who, after three ineffectual ſtrokes, drew a ſhort dagger and ſheathed it in his heart (150). The unprotected Maximus, whom he had inveſted with the purple, was indebted for his life to the contempt that was entertained of his power and abilities. The caprice of the Barbarians, who ravaged Spain, once more ſeated this Imperial phantom on the throne: but they

(150) The praiſes which Sozomen has beſtowed on this act of deſpair, appear ſtrange and ſcandalous in the mouth of an eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian. He obſerves (p. 379.), that the wife of Gerontius was a *Chriſtian*; and that her death was worthy of her religion, and of immortal fame.

they ſoon reſigned him to the juſtice of Honorius; and the tyrant Maximus, after he had been ſhewn to the people of Ravenna and Rome, was publicly executed.

Character and victories of the general Conſtantius.

The general, Conſtantius was his name, who raiſed by his approach the ſiege of Arles, and diſſipated the troops of Gerontius, was born a Roman: and this remarkable diſtinction is ſtrongly expreſſive of the decay of military ſpirit among the ſubjects of the empire. The ſtrength and majeſty which were conſpicuous in the perſon of that general (151), marked him, In the popular opinion, as a candidate worthy of the throne, which he afterwards aſcended. in the familiar intercourſe of private life, his manners were cheerful and engaging: nor would he ſometimes diſdain, in the licence of convivial mirth, to vie with the pantomimes themſelves, in the exerciſes of their ridiculous profeſſion. But when the trumpet ſummoned him to arms; when he mounted his horſe, and, bending down (for ſuch was his ſingular practice) almoſt upon the neck, fiercely rolled his large animated eyes round the field, Conſtantius then ſtruck terror into his foes, and inſpired his ſoldiers with the aſſurance of victory. He had received from the court of Ravenna the important commiſſion of extirpating rebellion in the provinces of the Weſt; and the pretended emperor Conſtantine, after enjoying

(151) Ειδος αξιον τυραννιδος, is the expreſſion of Olympiodorus, which he ſeems to have borrowed from *Æolus* a tragedy of Euripides, of which ſome fragments only are now extant (Euripid. Barnes, tom. ii. p. 443. ver. 38.). This alluſion may prove, that the ancient tragic poets were ſtill familiar to the Greeks of the fifth centur .

enjoying a ſhort and anxious reſpite, was again beſieged in his capital by the arms of a more formidable enemy. Yet this interval allowed time for a ſucceſsful negociation with the Franks and Alemanni; and his ambaſſador, Edobic, ſoon returned, at the head of an army, to diſturb the operations of the ſiege of Arles. The Roman general, inſtead of expecting the attack in his lines, boldly, and perhaps wiſely, reſolved to paſs the Rhône, and to meet the Barbarians. His meaſures were conducted with ſo much ſkill and ſecrecy, that, while they engaged the infantry of Conſtantius in the front, they were ſuddenly attacked, ſurrounded, and deſtroyed by the cavalry of his lieutenant Ulphilas, who had ſilently gained an advantageous poſt in their rear. The remains of the army of Edobic were preſerved by flight or ſubmiſſion, and their leader eſcaped from the field of battle to the houſe of a faithleſs friend; who too clearly underſtood, that the head of his obnoxious gueſt would be an acceptible and lucrative preſent for the Imperial general. On this occaſion, Conſtantius behaved with the magnanimity of a genuine Roman. Subduing, or ſuppreſſing, every ſentiment of jealouſy, he publicly acknowledged the merit and ſervices of Ulphilas: but he turned with horror from the aſſaſſin of Edobic; and ſternly intimated his commands, that the camp ſhould no longer be polluted by the preſence of an ungrateful wretch, who had violated the laws of friendſhip and hoſpitality. The uſurper, who beheld, from the walls of Arles, the ruin of his laſt hopes, was tempted to

place

place ſome confidence in ſo generous a conqueror. He required a ſolemn promiſe for his ſecurity; and after receiving, by the impoſition of hands, the ſacred character of a Chriſtian Preſbyter, he ventured to open the gates of the city. But he ſoon experienced, that the principles of honour and integrity, which might regulate the ordinary conduct of Conſtantius, were ſuperſeded by the looſe doctrines of political morality. The Roman general, indeed, refuſed to ſully his laurels with the blood of Conſtantine; but the abdicated emperor, and, his ſon Julian, were ſent under a ſtrong guard into Italy; and before they reached the palace of Ravenna, they met the miniſters of death.

Death of the uſurper Conſtantine, A. D. 411, November 28.

At a time when it was univerſally confeſſed, that almoſt every man in the empire was ſuperior in perſonal merit to the princes whom the accident of their birth had ſeated on the throne, a rapid ſucceſſion of uſurpers, regardleſs of the fate of their predeceſſors, ſtill continued to ariſe. This miſchief was peculiarly felt in the provinces of Spain and Gaul, where the principles of order and obedience had been extinguiſhed by war and rebellion. Before Conſtantine reſigned the purple, and in the fourth month of the ſiege of Arles, intelligence was received in the Imperial camp, that Jovinus had aſſumed the diadem at Mentz, in the Upper Germany, at the inſtigation of Goar, king of the Alani, and of Guntiarius, king of the Burgundians; and that the candidate, on whom they had beſtowed

Fall of the uſurpers, Jovinus, Sebaſtian, and Attalus, A. D. 411—416.

ſtowed the empire, advanced, with a formidable hoſt of Barbarians, from the banks of the Rhine to thoſe of the Rhône. Every circumſtance is dark and extraordinary in the ſhort hiſtory of the reign of Jovinus. It was natural to expect, that a brave and ſkilful general, at the head of a victorious army, would have aſſerted, in a field of battle, the juſtice of the cauſe of Honorius. The haſty retreat of Conſtantius might be juſtified by weighty reaſons; but he reſigned, without a ſtruggle, the poſſeſſion of Gaul: and Dardanus, the Prætorian præfect, is recorded as the only magiſtrate, who refuſed to yield obedience to the uſurper (152). When the Goths, two years after the ſiege of Rome, eſtabliſhed their quarters in Gaul, it was natural to ſuppoſe that their inclinations could be divided only between the emperor Honorius, with whom they had formed a recent alliance, and the degraded Attalus, whom they reſerved in their camp for the occaſional purpoſe of acting the part of a muſician or a monarch. Yet in a moment of diſguſt (for which it is not eaſy to aſſign a cauſe, or a date), Adolphus connected himſelf with the uſurper of Gaul; and impoſed on

(152) Sidonius Apollinaris (l. v. epiſt. 9. p. 139. and Not. Sirmond. p. 58.), after ſtigmatiſing the *inconſtancy* of Conſtantine, the *facility* of Jovinus, the *perfidy* of Gerontius, continues to obſerve, that *all* the vices of theſe tyrants were united in the perſon of Dardanus. Yet the præfect ſupported a reſpectable character in the world, and even in the church; held a devout correſpondence with St. Auguſtin and St. Jerom; and was complimented by the latter (tom. iii. p. 66.) with the epithets of Chriſtianorum Nobiliſſime, and Nobilium Chriſtianiſſime.

Attalus the ignominious taſk of negociating the treaty, which ratified his own diſgrace. We are again ſurpriſed to read, that, inſtead of conſidering the Gothic alliance as the firmeſt ſupport of his throne, Jovinus upbraided, in dark and ambiguous language, the officious importunity of Attalus; that, ſcorning the advice of his great ally, he inveſted with the purple his brother Sebaſtian; and that he moſt imprudently accepted the ſervice of Sarus, when that gallant chief, the ſoldier of Honorius, was provoked to deſert the court of a prince, who knew not how to reward, or puniſh. Adolphus, educated among a race of warriors, who eſteemed the duty of revenge as the moſt precious and ſacred portion of their inheritance, advanced with a body of ten thouſand Goths to encounter the hereditary enemy of the houſe of Balti. He attacked Sarus at an unguarded moment, when he was accompanied only by eighteen or twenty of his valiant followers. United by friendſhip, animated by deſpair, but at length oppreſſed by multitudes, this band of heroes deſerved the eſteem, without exciting the compaſſion, of their enemies; and the lion was no ſooner taken in the toils (153), than he was inſtantly

(153) The expreſſion may be underſtood almoſt literally; Olympiodorus ſays, μολις σαγκοις εζωγρησαν. Σαγκος (or σακος) may ſignify a ſack, or a looſe garment; and this method of entangling and catching an enemy, laciniis contortis, was much practiſed by the Huns (Ammian. xxxi. 2.). Il fut pris vif avec des filets, is the tranſlation of Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 608.

inſtantly diſpatched. The death of Sarus diſſolved the looſe alliance which Adolphus ſtill maintained with the uſurpers of Gaul. He again liſtened to the dictates of love and prudence; and ſoon ſatisfied the brother of Placidia, by the aſſurance that he would immediately tranſmit, to the palace of Ravenna, the heads of the two tyrants, Jovinus and Sebaſtian. The king of the Goths executed his promiſe without difficulty or delay: the helpleſs brothers, unſupported by any perſonal merit, were abandoned by their Barbarian auxiliaries; and the ſhort oppoſition of Valentia was expiated by the ruin of one of the nobleſt cities of Gaul. The emperor, choſen by the Roman ſenate, who had been promoted, degraded, inſulted, reſtored, again degraded, and again inſulted, was finally abandoned to his fate: but when the Gothic king withdrew his protection, he was reſtrained, by pity or contempt, from offering any violence to the perſon of Attalus. The unfortunate Attalus, who was left without ſubjects or allies, embarked in one of the ports of Spain, in ſearch of ſome ſecure and ſolitary retreat: but he was intercepted at ſea, conducted to the preſence of Honorius, led in triumph through the ſtreets of Rome or Ravenna, and publicly expoſed to the gazing multitude, on the ſecond ſtep of the throne of his *invincible* conqueror. The ſame meaſure of puniſhment, with which, in the days of his proſperity, he was accuſed of menacing his rival, was inflicted on Attalus himſelf: he was condemned, after the amputa-

tion of two fingers, to a perpetual exile in the isle of Lipari, where he was supplied with the decent necessaries of life. The remainder of the reign of Honorius was undisturbed by rebellion; and it may be observed, that, in the space of five years, seven usurpers had yielded to the fortune of a prince, who was himself incapable either of counsel or of action.

Invasion of Spain by the Suevi, Vandals, Alani, &c. A. D. 409, October 13.

The situation of Spain, separated, on all sides, from the enemies of Rome, by the sea, by the mountains, and by intermediate provinces, had secured the long tranquillity of that remote and sequestered country; and we may observe, as a sure symptom of domestic happiness, that, in a period of four hundred years, Spain furnished very few materials to the history of the Roman empire. The footsteps of the Barbarians, who, in the reign of Gallienus, had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees, were soon obliterated by the return of peace; and in the fourth century of the Christian æra, the cities of Emerita or Merida, of Corduba, Seville, Bracara, and Tarragona, were numbered with the most illustrious of the Roman world. The various plenty of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms, was improved and manufactured by the skill of an industrious people; and the peculiar advantages of naval stores contributed to support an extensive and profitable trade (154). The arts

(154) Without recurring to the more ancient writers, I shall quote three respectable testimonies which belong to the fourth and seventh centuries; the Expositio totius Mundi (p. 16. in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Geographers), Ausonius

arts and ſciences flouriſhed under the protection of the emperors; and if the character of the Spaniards was enfeebled by peace and ſervitude, the hoſtile approach of the Germans, who had ſpread terror and deſolation from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, ſeemed to rekindle ſome ſparks of military ardour. As long as the defence of the mountains was entruſted to the hardy and faithful militia of the country, they ſucceſsfully repelled the frequent attempts of the Barbarians. But no ſooner had the national troops been compelled to reſign their poſt to the Honorian bands, in the ſervice of Conſtantine; than the gates of Spain were treacherouſly betrayed to the public enemy, about ten months before the ſack of Rome by the Goths (155). The conſciouſneſs of guilt, and the thirſt of rapine, prompted the mercenary guards of the Pyrenees to deſert their ſtation; to invite the arms of the Suevi, the Vandals, and the Alani; and to ſwell the torrent which was poured with irreſiſtible violence from the frontiers of Gaul to the ſea of Africa. The misfortunes of Spain may be deſcribed in the language of its moſt eloquent hiſtorian, who has conciſely expreſſed

Auſonius (de Claris Urbibus, p. 242. edit. Toll.), and Iſidore of Seville (Præfat. ad Chron. ap. Grotium, Hiſt. Goth. p. 707.). Many particulars relative to the fertility and trade of Spain, may be found in Nonnius, Hiſpania Illuſtrata, and in Huet, Hiſt. du Commerce des Anciens, c. 40. p. 228—234.

(155) The date is accurately fixed in the Faſti, and the Chronicle of Idatius. Oroſius (l. vii. c. 40. p. 578.) imputes the loſs of Spain to the treachery of the Honorians; while Sozomen (l. ix. c. 12.) accuſes only their negligence.

preſſed the paſſionate, and perhaps exaggerated, declamations of contemporary writers (156). "The irruption of theſe nations "was followed by the moſt dreadful cala- "mities: as the Barbarians exerciſed their in- "diſcriminate cruelty on the fortunes of the "Romans and the Spaniards; and ravaged "with equal fury the cities and the open "country. The progreſs of famine reduced "the miſerable inhabitants to feed on the "fleſh of their fellow-creatures; and even the "wild beaſts, who multiplied, without con- "troul, in the deſert, were exaſperated, by "the taſte of blood, and the impatience of "hunger, boldly to attack and devour their "human prey. Peſtilence ſoon appeared, "the inſeparable companion of famine; a "large proportion of the people was ſwept "away; and the groans of the dying ex- "cited only the envy of their ſurviving "friends. At length the Barbarians, ſatiated "with carnage and rapine, and afflicted by "the contagious evils which they themſelves "had introduced, fixed their permanent ſeats "in the depopulated country. The ancient "Gallicia, whoſe limits included the kingdom "of Old Caſtille, was divided between the "Suevi and the Vandals; the Alani were ſcat- "tered over the provinces of Carthagena and "Luſitania, from the Mediterranean to the "Atlantic Ocean; and the fruitful territory "of

(156) Idatius wiſhes to apply the Prophecies of Daniel to theſe national calamities; and is therefore obliged to accommodate the circumſtances of the event to the terms of the prediction.

" of Bœtica was allotted to the Silingi, ano-
" ther branch of the Vandalic nation. Af-
" ter regulating this partition, the conquerors
" contracted with their new ſubjects ſome
" reciprocal engagements of protection and
" obedience: the lands were again cultivated;
" and the towns and villages were again occu-
" pied by a captive people. The greateſt part
" of the Spaniards was even diſpoſed to
" prefer this new condition of poverty and
" barbariſm, to the ſevere oppreſſions of the
" Roman government: yet there were many
" who ſtill aſſerted their native freedom; and
" who refuſed, more eſpecially in the moun-
" tains of Gallicia, to ſubmit to the Barbarian
" yoke (157)."

Adolphus king of the Goths, marches into Spain, A.D. 414.

The important preſence of the heads of Jovinus and Sebaſtian, had approved the friendſhip of Adolphus, and reſtored Gaul to the obedience of his brother Honorius. Peace was incompatible with the ſituation and temper of the king of the Goths. He readily accepted the propoſal of turning his victorious arms againſt the Barbarians of Spain: the troops of Conſtantius intercepted his communication with the ſea-ports of Gaul, and gently preſſed his march towards the Pyrenees;

(157) Mariana de Rebus Hiſpanicis, l. v. c. 1. tom. i. p. 148. Hag. Comit. 1733. He had read, in Oroſius (l. vii. c. 41. p. 579.), that the Barbarians had turned their ſwords into ploughſhares; and that many of the Provincials preferred, inter Barbaros pauperem libertatem quam inter Romanos tributariam ſolicitudinem ſuſtinere.

nees (158): he paſſed the mountains, and ſurpriſed, in the name of the emperor, the city of Barcelona. The fondneſs of Adolphus for his Roman bride, was not abated by time or poſſeſſion; and the birth of a ſon, ſurnamed, from his illuſtrious grandſire, Theodoſius, appeared to fix him for ever in the intereſt of the republic. The loſs of that infant, whoſe remains were depoſited in a ſilver coffin in one of the churches near Barcelona, afflicted his parents; but the grief of the Gothic king was ſuſpended by the labours of the field; and the courſe of his victories was ſoon interrupted by domeſtic treaſon. He had imprudently received into his ſervice one of the followers of Sarus; a Barbarian of a daring ſpirit, but of a diminutive ſtature; whoſe ſecret deſire of revenging the death of his beloved patron, was continually irritated by the ſarcaſms of his inſolent maſter. Adolphus was aſſaſſinated in the palace of Barcelona; the laws of the ſucceſſion were violated by a tumultuous faction (159); and a ſtranger to the royal race, Singeric, the brother of Sarus himſelf, was ſeated on the Gothic throne. The firſt act of his reign was the inhuman murder of the ſix children of Adolphus,

His death, A.D. 415. Auguſt.

(158) This mixture of force and perſuaſion may be fairly inferred from comparing Oroſius and Jornandes, the Roman and the Gothic hiſtorian.

(159) According to the ſyſtem of Jornandes (c. 33. p. 659.), the true hereditary right to the Gothic ſceptre was veſted in the *Amali*; but thoſe princes, who were the vaſſals of the Huns, commanded the tribes of the Oſtrogoths in ſome diſtant parts of Germany or Scythia.

Adolphus, the iſſue of a former marriage, whom he tore, without pity, from the feeble arms of a venerable biſhop (160). The unfortunate Placidia, inſtead of the reſpectful compaſſion, which ſhe might have excited in the moſt ſavage breaſts, was treated with cruel and wanton inſult. The daughter of the emperor Theodoſius, confounded among a crowd of vulgar captives, was compelled to march on foot above twelve miles, before the horſe of a Barbarian, the aſſaſſin of an huſband, whom Placidia loved and lamented (161.)

But Placidia ſoon obtained the pleaſure of revenge; and the view of her ignominious ſufferings might rouſe an indignant people againſt the tyrant, who was aſſaſſinated on the ſeventh day of his uſurpation. After the death of Singeric, the free choice of the nation beſtowed the Gothic ſceptre on Wallia; whoſe warlike and ambitious temper appeared, in the beginning of his reign, extremely hoſtile to the republic. He marched, in arms, from Barcelona to the ſhores of the Atlantic Ocean, which the ancients revered and dreaded as the boundary of the world. But when he reached the Southern

The Goths conquer and reſtore Spain, A.D. 415—418.

(160) The murder is related by Olympiodorus; but the number of the children is taken from an epitaph of ſuſpected authority.

(161) The death of Adolphus was celebrated at Conſtantinople with illuminations and Circenſian games. (See Chron. Alexandrin.) It may ſeem doubtful, whether the Greeks were actuated, on this occaſion, by their hatred, of the Barbarians, or of the Latins.

Southern promontory of Spain (162), and, from the rock now covered by the fortreſs of Gibraltar, contemplated the neighbouring and fertile coaſt of Africa, Wallia reſumed the deſigns of conqueſt, which had been interrupted by the death of Alaric. The winds and waves again diſappointed the enterpriſe of the Goths; and the minds of a ſuperſtitious people were deeply affected by the repeated diſaſters of ſtorms and ſhipwrecks. In this diſpoſition, the ſucceſſor of Adolphus no longer refuſed to liſten to a Roman ambaſſador, whoſe propoſals were enforced by the real, or ſuppoſed, approach of a numerous army, under the conduct of the brave Conſtantius. A ſolemn treaty was ſtipulated and obſerved: Placidia was honourably reſtored to her brother; ſix hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat were delivered to the hungry Goths (163); and Wallia engaged to draw his ſword in the ſervice of the empire. A bloody war was inſtantly excited among the Barbarians of Spain; and the contending princes are ſaid to have addreſſed their letters, their ambaſſadors, and their hoſtages, to the throne of the Weſtern emperor, exhorting him to remain a tranquil ſpectator

(162) Quòd *Tarteſſiaſis* avus hujus Vallia *terris*
Vandalicas turmas, et juncti Martis Alanos
Stravit, et occiduam texere cadavera *Calpen*.
Sidon. Apollinar. in Panegyr. Anthem. 363; p. 300. edit. Sirmond.

(163) This ſupply was very acceptable: the Goths were inſulted by the Vandals of Spain with the epithet of *Truli*, becauſe, in their extreme diſtreſs, they had given a piece of gold for a *trula*, or about half a pound of flour. Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 189.

ſpectator of their conteſt; the events of which muſt be favourable to the Romans, by the mutual ſlaughter of their common enemies (164). The Spaniſh war was obſtinately ſupported, during three campaigns, with deſperate valour, and various ſucceſs; and the martial atchievements of Wallia diffuſed through the empire the ſuperior renown of the Gothic hero. He exterminated the Silingi, who had irretrievably ruined the elegant plenty of the province of Bœtica. He ſlew, in battle, the king of the Alani; and the remains of thoſe Scythian wanderers, who eſcaped from the field, inſtead of chuſing a new leader, humbly ſought a refuge under the ſtandard of the Vandals, with whom they were ever afterwards confounded. The Vandals themſelves, and the Suevi, yielded to the efforts of the invincible Goths. The promiſcuous multitude of Barbarians, whoſe retreat had been intercepted, were driven into the mountains of Gallicia; where they ſtill continued, in a narrow compaſs, and on a barren ſoil, to exerciſe their domeſtic and implacable hoſtilities. In the pride of victory, Wallia was faithful to his engagements: he reſtored his Spaniſh conqueſts to the obedience of Honorius; and the tyranny of the Imperial officers ſoon reduced an oppreſſed people to regret the time of their Barbarian ſervitude. While the event of

(164) Oroſius inſerts a copy of theſe pretended letters. Tu cum omnibus pacem habe, omniumque obſides accipe; nos nobis confligimus, nobis perimus, tibi vincimus; immortalis vero quæſtus erat Reipublicæ tuæ, ſi utrique pereamus. The idea is juſt; but I cannot perſuade myſelf that it was entertained, or expreſſed, by the Barbarians.

of the war was ſtill doubtful, the firſt advantages obtained by the arms of Wallia, had encouraged the court of Ravenna to decree the honours of a triumph to their feeble ſovereign. He entered Rome like the ancient conquerors of nations; and if the monuments of ſervile corruption had not long ſince met with the fate which they deſerved, we ſhould probably find that a croud of poets and orators, of magiſtrates, and biſhops, applauded the fortune, the wiſdom, and the invincible courage, of the emperor Honorius (165).

Their eſtabliſhment in Aquitain. A.D. 419.

Such a triumph might have been juſtly claimed by the ally of Rome, if Wallia, before he repaſſed the Pyrenees, had extirpated the ſeeds of the Spaniſh war. His victorious Goths, forty-three years after they had paſſed the Danube, were eſtabliſhed, according to the faith of treaties, in the poſſeſſion of the ſecond Aquitain; a maritime province between the Garonne and the Loire, under the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction of Bourdeaux. That metropolis, advantageouſly ſituated for the trade of the ocean, was built in a regular and elegant form; and its numerous inhabitants were diſtinguiſhed among the Gauls by their wealth, their learning, and the politeneſs

(165) Romam triumphans ingreditur, is the formal expreſſion of Proſper's Chronicle. The facts which relate to the death of Adolphus, and the exploits of Wallia, are related from Olympiodorus (apud Phot. p. 188.), Oroſius (l. vii. c. 43. p. 584—587.), Jornandes, (de Rebus Geticis, c. 31, 32.), and the Chronicles of Idatius and Iſidore.

neſs of their manners. The adjacent province, which has been fondly compared to the garden of Eden, is bleſſed with a fruitful ſoil, and a temperate climate; the face of the country diſplayed the arts and the rewards of induſtry; and the Goths, after their martial toils, luxuriouſly exhauſted the rich vineyards of Aquitain (166). The Gothic limits were enlarged, by the additional gift of ſome neighbouring dioceſes; and the ſucceſſors of Alaric fixed their royal reſidence at Thouloufe; which included five populous quarters, or cities, within the ſpacious circuit of its walls. About the ſame time, in the laſt years of the reign of Honorius, the GOTHS, the BURGUNDIANS, and the FRANKS, obtained a permanent ſeat and dominion in the provinces of Gaul. The liberal grant of the uſurper Jovinus to his Burgundian allies, was confirmed by the lawful emperor: the lands of the Firſt, or Upper, Germany, were ceded to thoſe formidable Barbarians; and they gradually occupied, either by conqueſt or treaty, the two provinces which ſtill retain, with the titles of *Duchy* and of *County*, the national appellation of Burgundy (167). The Franks, the valiant and faithful

The Burgundians.

(166) Auſonius (de Claris Urbibus, p. 257—262.) celebrates Bourdeaux with the partial affection of a native. See in Salvian (de Gubern. Dei, p. 228. Paris, 1608.) a florid deſcription of the provinces of Aquitain and Novempopulania.

(167) Oroſius (l. vii. c. 32. p. 550.) commends the mildneſs and modeſty of theſe Burgundians, who treated their ſubjects of Gaul as their Chriſtian brethren. Maſcou has illuſtrated

faithful allies of the Roman republic, were ſoon tempted to imitate the invaders, whom they had ſo bravely reſiſted. Treves, the capital of Gaul, was pillaged by their lawleſs bands; and the humble colony, which they ſo long maintained in the diſtrict of Toxandria, in Brabant, inſenſibly multiplied along the banks of the Meuſe and Scheld, till their independent power filled the whole extent of the Second, or Lower Germany. Theſe facts may be ſufficiently juſtified by hiſtoric evidence: but the foundation of the French monarchy by Pharamond, the conqueſts, the laws, and even the exiſtence, of that hero, have been juſtly arraigned by the impartial ſeverity of modern criticiſm (168).

State of the Barbarians in Gaul, A. D. 420, &c.

The ruin of the opulent provinces of Gaul may be dated from the eſtabliſhment of theſe Barbarians, whoſe alliance was dangerous and oppreſſive, and who were capriciouſly impelled, by intereſt or paſſion, to violate the public peace. A heavy and partial ranſom was impoſed on the ſurviving provincials, who had eſcaped

juſtrated the origin of their kingdom in the four firſt annotations at the end of his laborious Hiſtory of the Ancient Germans, vol. ii. p. 555—572. of the Engliſh tranſlation.

(168) See Maſcou, l. viii. c. 43, 44, 45. Except in a ſhort and ſuſpicious line of the Chronicle of Proſper (in tom. i. p. 638.), the name of Pharamond is never mentioned before the ſeventh century. The author of the Geſta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 543.) ſuggeſts, probably enough, that the choice of Pharamond, or at leaſt of a king, was recommended to the Franks by his father Marcomir, who was an exile in Tuſcany.

eſcaped the calamities of war; the faireſt and moſt fertile lands were aſſigned to the rapacious ſtrangers, for the uſe of their families, their ſlaves, and their cattle; and the trembling natives relinquiſhed with a ſigh the inheritance of their fathers. Yet theſe domeſtic misfortunes, which are ſeldom the lot of a vanquiſhed people, had been felt and inflicted by the Romans themſelves, not only in the inſolence of foreign conqueſt, but in the madneſs of civil diſcord. The Triumvirs proſcribed eighteen of the moſt flouriſhing colonies of Italy; and diſtributed their lands and houſes to the veterans who revenged the death of Cæſar, and oppreſſed the liberty of their country. Two poets, of unequal fame, have deplored, in ſimilar circumſtances, the loſs of their patrimony: but the legionaries of Auguſtus appear to have ſurpaſſed, in violence and injuſtice, the Barbarians, who invaded Gaul, under the reign of Honorius. It was not without the utmoſt difficulty that Virgil eſcaped from the ſword of the Centurion, who had uſurped his farm in the neighbourhood of Mantua (169); but Paulinus of Bourdeaux

(169) O Lycida, vivi pervenimus: advena noſtri
(Quod nunquam veriti ſumus) ut poſſeſſor agelli
Diceret: Hæc mea ſunt; veteres migrate coloni.
Nunc victi triſtes, &c.

See the whole of the ninth eclogue, with the uſeful Commentary of Servius. Fifteen miles of the Mantuan territory were aſſigned to the veterans, with a reſervation, in favour of the inhabitants, of three miles round the city. Even in this favour they were cheated by Alfenus Varus, a famous lawyer, and one

deaux received a ſum of money from his Gothic purchaſer, which he accepted with pleaſure and ſurpriſe; and, though it was much inferior to the real value of his eſtate, this act of rapine was diſguiſed by ſome colours of moderation and equity (170). The odious name of conquerors, was ſoftened into the mild and friendly appellation of the *gueſts* of the Romans; and the Barbarians of Gaul, more eſpecially the Goths, repeatedly declared, that they were bound to the people by the ties of hoſpitality, and to the emperor by the duty of allegiance and military ſervice. The title of Honorius and his ſucceſſors, their laws, and their civil magiſtrates, were ſtill reſpected in the provinces of Gaul, of which they had reſigned the poſſeſſion to the Barbarian allies; and the kings, who exerciſed a ſupreme and independent authority over their native ſubjects, ambitiouſly ſolicited the more honourable rank of maſter-generals of the Imperial armies (171). Such was the involuntary reverence which the Roman name ſtill impreſſed on the minds of thoſe warriors, who had borne away in triumph the ſpoils of the Capitol.

Whilſt

one of the commiſſioners, who meaſured eight hundred paces of water and moraſs.

(170) See the remarkable paſſage of the Euchariſticon of Paulinus, 575. apud Maſcou, l. viii. c. 42.

(171) This important truth is eſtabliſhed by the accuracy of Tillemont (Hiſt. des Emp. tom. v. p. 641.), and by the ingenuity of the Abbé Dubos (Hiſt. de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoiſe dans les Gaules, tom. i. p. 259.

Whilſt Italy was ravaged by the Goths, and a ſucceſſion of feeble tyrants oppreſſed the provinces beyond the Alps, the Britiſh iſland ſeparated itſelf from the body of the Roman empire. The regular forces which guarded that remote province, had been gradually withdrawn; and Britain was abandoned, without defence, to the Saxon pirates, and the ſavages of Ireland and Caledonia. The Britons, reduced to this extremity, no longer relied on the tardy and doubtful aid of a declining monarchy. They aſſembled in arms, repelled the invaders, and rejoiced in the important diſcovery of their own ſtrength (172). Afflicted by ſimilar calamities, and actuated by the ſame ſpirit, the Armorican provinces (a name which comprehended the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and the Loire) (173). reſolved to imitate the example of the neighbouring iſland. They expelled the Roman magiſtrates, who acted under the authority of the uſurper Conſtantine; and a free government was eſtabliſhed among a people who had ſo long been ſubject to the arbitrary will of a maſter. The independence of Britain and Armorica was ſoon confirmed by Honorius himſelf, the lawful emperor of the Weſt; and the letters, by which he committed to the new ſtates the care of their own ſafety,

Revolt of Britain and Armorica, A. D. 409.

(172) Zoſimus (l. vi. p. 376. 383.) relates in a few words the revolt of Britain and Armorica. Our antiquarians, even the great Cambden himſelf, have been betrayed into many groſs errors, by their imperfect knowledge of the hiſtory of the continent.

(173) The limits of Armorica are defined by two national geographers, Meſſieurs de Valois and d'Anville, in their *Notitias* of Ancient Gaul. The word had been uſed in a more extenſive, and was afterwards contracted to a much narrower, ſignification.

ſafety, might be interpreted as an abſolute and perpetual abdication of the exerciſe and rights of ſovereignty. This interpretation was, in ſome meaſure, juſtified by the event. After the uſurpers of Gaul had ſucceſſively fallen, the maritime provinces were reſtored to the empire. Yet their obedience was imperfect and precarious: the vain, inconſtant rebellious diſpoſition of the people, was incompatible either with freedom or ſervitude (174); and Armorica, though it could not long maintain the form of a republic (175), was agitated by frequent and deſtructive revolts. Britain was irrecoverably loſt (176). But as the emperors wiſely acquieſced in the independence of a remote province, the ſeparation was not embittered by the reproach of tyranny or rebellion; and the claims of allegiance and protection were ſucceeded by the

(174) Gens inter geminos notiſſima clauditur amnes,
Armoricana prius veteri cognomine dicta.
Torva, ferox, ventoſa, procax, incauta, rebellis;
Inconſtans, diſparque ſibi novitatis amore;
Prodiga verborum, ſed non et prodiga facti.
Erricus, Monach. in Vit. S. Germani, l. v. apud Valeſ. Notit. Galliarum, p. 43. Valeſius alleges ſeveral teſtimonies to confirm this character; to which I ſhall add the evidence of the preſbyter Conſtantine (A. D. 488.), who, in the life of St. Germain, calls the Armorican rebels, mobilem et indiſciplinatum populum. See the Hiſtorians of France, tom. i. p. 643.

(175) I thought it neceſſary to enter my proteſt againſt this part of the ſyſtem of the Abbé Dubos, which Monteſquieu has ſo vigorouſly oppoſed. See Eſprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 24.

(176) Βρεττανιαν μεν τοι Ρωμαιοι ανασωσασθαι ουκετι ἐσχον, are the words of Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. p. 181. Louvre edition) in a very important paſſage, which has been too much neglected. Even Bede (Hiſt. Gent. Anglican. l. i. c. 12. p. 50. edit. Smith) acknowledges that the Romans finally left Britain in the reign of Honorius. Yet our modern hiſtorians and antiquarians extend the term of their dominion; and there are ſome who allow only the interval of a few months between their departure and the arrival of the Saxons.

the mutual and voluntary offices of national friendſhip (177).

This revolution diſſolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the deſcent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns (178). I. Zoſimus, who alone has preſerved the memory of this ſingular tranſaction, very accurately obſerves, that the letters of Honorius were addreſſed to the *cities* of Britain (179). Under the protection of the Romans, ninety-two conſiderable towns had ariſen in the ſeveral parts of that great province; and, among theſe, thirty-three cities were diſtinguiſhed above the reſt by their ſuperior privileges and importance (180). Each of theſe cities, as in all the other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpoſe of regulating their domeſtic policy; and the powers of municipal government were diſtributed among annual magiſtrates, a ſelect ſenate, and the aſſembly of the people, according to the original model

State of Britain, A. D. 409—449.

(177) Bede has not forgot the occaſional aid of the legions againſt the Scots and Picts; and more authentic proof will hereafter be produced, that the independent Britons raiſed 12,000 men for the ſervice of the emperor Anthemius, in Gaul.

(178) I owe it to myſelf, and to hiſtoric truth, to declare, that ſome *circumſtances* in this paragraph are founded only on conjecture and analogy. The ſtubbornneſs of our language has ſometimes forced me to deviate from the *conditional* into the *indicative* mood.

(179) Προς τας εν Βρεταννια πολεις. Zoſimus, l. vi. p. 383.

(180) Two cities of Britain were *municipia*, nine *colonies*, ten *Latii jure donatæ*, twelve *ſtipendiariæ* of eminent note. This detail is taken from Richard of Cirenceſter, de Sitû Britanniæ, p. 36; and though it may not ſeem probable, that he wrote from the MSS. of a Roman general, he ſhews a genuine knowledge of antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the fourteenth century.

of the Roman conſtitution (181). The management of a common revenue, the exerciſe of civil and criminal juriſdiction, and the habits of public counſel and command, were inherent to theſe petty republics; and when they aſſerted their independence, the youth of the city, and of the adjacent diſtricts, would naturally range themſelves under the ſtandard of the magiſtrate. But the deſire of obtaining the advantages, and of eſcaping the burthens, of political ſociety, is a perpetual and inexhauſtible ſource of diſcord; nor can it reaſonably be preſumed, that the reſtoration of Britiſh freedom was exempt from tumult and faction. The pre-eminence of birth and fortune muſt have been frequently violated by bold and popular citizens; and the haughty nobles, who complained that they were become the ſubjects of their own ſervants (182), would ſometimes regret the reign of an arbitrary monarch. II. The juriſdiction of each city over the adjacent country, was ſupported by the patrimonial influence of the principal ſenators; and the ſmaller towns, the villages, and the proprietors of land, conſulted their own ſafety by adhering to the ſhelter of theſe riſing republics. The ſphere of their attraction was proportioned to the reſpective degrees of their wealth and populouſneſs; but the hereditary lords of ample poſſeſſions, who were not oppreſſed by the neighbourhood of any powerful city, aſpired to the rank of independent princes,

(181) See Maffei Verona Illuſtrata, part i. l. v. p. 83—106.

(182) Leges reſtituit, libertatemque reducit,
Et ſervos famulis non ſinit eſſe ſuis.
Itinerar. Rutil. l. i. 215.

princes, and boldly exerciſed the rights of peace and war. The gardens and villas, which exhibited ſome faint imitation of Italian elegance, would ſoon be converted into ſtrong caſtles, the refuge, in time of danger, of the adjacent country (183): the produce of the land was applied to purchaſe arms and horſes; to maintain a military force of ſlaves, of peaſants, and of licentious followers; and the chieftain might aſſume, within his own domain, the powers of a civil magiſtrate. Several of theſe Britiſh chiefs might be the genuine poſterity of ancient kings; and many more would be tempted to adopt this honourable genealogy, and to vindicate their hereditary claims, which had been ſuſpended by the uſurpation of the Cæſars (184). Their ſituation, and their hopes, would diſpoſe them to affect the dreſs, the language, and the cuſtoms of their anceſtors. If the *princes* of Britain relapſed into barbariſm, while the *cities* ſtudiouſly preſerved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole iſland muſt have been gradually divided by the diſtinction of two national parties; again broken into a thouſand ſubdiviſions of war and faction, by the various provocations of intereſt and reſentment. The public ſtrength, inſtead of being united againſt a foreign enemy, was conſumed

(183) An inſcription (apud Sirmond, Not. ad Sidon. Apollinar. p. 59.) deſcribes a caſtle, cum muris et portis, tuitioni omnium, erected by Pardanus on his own eſtate, near Siſteron, in the ſecond Narbonneſe, and named by him Theopolis.

(184) The eſtabliſhment of their power would have been eaſy indeed, if we could adopt the impracticable ſcheme of a lively and learned antiquarian; who ſuppoſes, that the Britiſh monarchs of the ſeveral tribes continued to reign, though with ſubordinate juriſdiction, from the time of Claudius to that of Honorius. See Whitaker's Hiſtory of Manchester, vol. i. p. 247—257.

ſumed in obſcure and inteſtine quarrels; and the perſonal merit which had placed a ſucceſsful leader at the head of his equals, might enable him to ſubdue the freedom of ſome neighbouring cities; and to claim a rank among the *tyrants* (185), who infeſted Britain after the diſſolution of the Roman government. III. The Britiſh church might be compoſed of thirty or forty biſhops (186), with an adequate proportion of the inferior clergy; and the want of riches (for they ſeem to have been poor) (187) would compel them to deſerve the public eſteem, by a decent and exemplary behaviour. The intereſt, as well as the temper of the clergy, was favourable to the peace and union of their diſtracted country: thoſe ſalutary leſſons might be frequently inculcated in their popular diſcourſes; and the epiſcopal ſynods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a national aſſembly. In ſuch councils, where the princes and magiſtrates ſat promiſcuouſly with the biſhops, the important affairs of the ſtate, as well as of the church, might be freely debated; differences reconciled, alliances formed, contributions impoſed, wiſe reſolutions often concerted, and

(185) Αλλ' ὅσα ὑπὸ τυράννοις ἀ.' αὐτῆ ἔμεινε. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 2. p. 181. Britannia fertilis provincia tyrannorum, was the expreſſion of Jerom, in the year 415 (tom. ii. p. 255. ad Cteſiphont.) By the pilgrims, who reſorted every year to the Holy Land, the monk of Bethlem received the earlieſt and moſt accurate intelligence.

(186) See Bingham's Eccleſ. Antiquities, vol. i. l. ix. c. 6. p 394.

(187) It is reported of *three* Britiſh biſhops who aſſiſted at the council of Rimini, A. D. 359. tam pauperes fuiſſe ut nihil haberent. Sulpicius Severus, Hiſt. Sacra, l. ii. p. 420. Some of their brethren, however, were in better circumſtances.

and ſometimes executed; and there is reaſon to believe, that in moments of extreme danger, a *Pendragon*, or Dictator, was elected by the general conſent of the Britons. Theſe paſtoral cares, ſo worthy of the epiſcopal character, were interrupted, however, by zeal and ſuperſtition; and the Britiſh clergy inceſſantly laboured to eradicate the Pelagian hereſy, which they abhorred, as the peculiar diſgrace of their native country (188).

It is ſomewhat remarkable, or rather it is extremely natural, that the revolt of Britain and Armorica ſhould have introduced an appearance of liberty into the obedient provinces of Gaul. In a ſolemn edict (189), filled with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of that paternal affection which princes ſo often expreſs, and ſo ſeldom feel, the emperor Honorius promulgated his intention of convening an annual aſſembly of the *ſeven provinces*: a name peculiarly appropriated to Aquitain, and the ancient Narbonneſe, which had long ſince exchanged their Celtic rudeneſs for the uſeful and elegant arts of Italy (190). Arles, the ſeat of government and commerce, was appointed for the place of the aſſembly; which regularly continued twenty-eight days, from the fifteenth of Auguſt to the thirteenth

Aſſembly of the ſeven provinces of Gaul, A. D. 418.

(188) Conſult Uſher, de Antiq. Eccleſ. Britannicar. c. 8—12.

(189) See the correct text of this edict, as publiſhed by Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 147). Hincmar, of Rheims, who aſſigns a place to the *biſhops*, had probably ſeen (in the ninth century) a more perfect copy. Dubos, Hiſt. Critique de la Monarchie Françoiſe, tom. i. p. 241—255.

(190) It is evident from the *Notitia*, that the ſeven provinces were the Viennenſis, the maritime Alps, the firſt and ſecond Narbonneſe, Novempopulania, and the firſt and ſecond Aquitain. In the room of the firſt Aquitain, the Abbé Dubos, on the authority of Hincmar, deſires to introduce the firſt Lugdunenſis, or Lyonneſe.

teenth of September, of every year. It conſiſted of the Prætorian præfect of the Gauls; of ſeven provincial governors, one conſular and ſix preſidents; of the magiſtrates, and perhaps the biſhops, of about ſixty cities: and of a competent, though indefinite, number of the moſt honourable and opulent *poſſeſſors* of land, who might juſtly be conſidered as the repreſentatives of their country. They were impowered to interpret and communicate the laws of their ſovereign; to expoſe the grievances and wiſhes of their conſtituents; to moderate the exceſſive or unequal weight of taxes; and to deliberate on every ſubject of local or national importance, that could tend to the reſtoration of the peace and proſperity of the ſeven provinces. If ſuch an inſtitution, which gave the people an intereſt in their own government, had been univerſally eſtabliſhed by Trajan or the Antonines, the ſeeds of public wiſdom and virtue might have been cheriſhed and propagated in the empire of Rome. The privileges of the ſubject would have ſecured the throne of the monarch; the abuſes of an arbitrary adminiſtration might have been prevented, in ſome degree, or corrected, by the interpoſition of theſe repreſentative aſſemblies; and the country would have been defended againſt a foreign enemy, by the arms of natives and freemen. Under the mild and generous influence of liberty, the Roman empire might have remained invincible and immortal; or if its exceſſive magnitude, and the inſtability of human affairs, had oppoſed ſuch perpetual continuance, its vital and conſtituent

ſtituent members might have ſeparately preſerved their vigour and independence. But in the decline of the empire, when every principle of health and life had been exhauſted, the tardy application of this partial remedy was incapable of producing any important or ſalutary effects. The emperor Honorius expreſſes his ſurpriſe, that he muſt compel the reluctant provinces to accept a privilege which they ſhould ardently have ſolicited. A fine of three, or even five, pounds of gold, was impoſed on the abſent repreſentatives; who ſeem to have declined this imaginary gift of a free conſtitution, as the laſt and moſt cruel inſult of their oppreſſors.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

Arcadius Emperor of the Eaſt.—Adminiſtration and diſgrace of Eutropius.—Revolt of Gainas.—Perſecution of St. John Chryſoſtom.—Theodoſius II. *Emperor of the Eaſt.—His Siſter Pulcheria. His wife Eudocia.—The Perſian War, and diviſion of Armenia.*

The empire of the Eaſt, A. D. 395 — 1453. Reign of Arcadius A. D. 395 — 408.

THE diviſion of the Roman world between the ſons of Theodoſius, marks the final eſtabliſhment of the empire of the Eaſt, which, from the reign of Arcadius to the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, ſubſiſted one thouſand and fifty eight years, in a ſtate of premature and perpetual decay. The ſovereign of that empire aſſumed, and obſtinately retained, the vain, and at length fictitious, title of Emperor of the ROMANS; and the hereditary appellations of CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS continued to declare, that he was the legitimate ſucceſſor of the firſt of men, who had reigned over the firſt of nations. The palace of Conſtantinople rivalled, and perhaps excelled, the magnificence of Perſia; and the eloquent ſermons of St. Chryſoſtom (1) celebrate, while they condemn, the pompous luxury

(1) Father Montfaucon, who, by the command of his Benedictine ſuperiors, was compelled (ſee Longueruana, tom. i p. 205.) to execute the laborious edition of St. Chryſoſtom, in thirteen volumes in folio (Paris, 1738), amuſed himſelf with extracting from that immenſe collection of morals, ſome curious *antiquities*, which illuſtrate the manners of the Theodoſian age (See Chryſoſtom. Opera, tom. xiii. p. 192—196), and his French Diſſertation, in the Memoires de l' Acad. des Inſcriptions, tom. xiii. p. 474—490.

luxury of the reign of Arcadius. "The emperor," ſays he, "wears on his head "either a diadem, or a crown of gold, de- "corated with precious ſtones of ineſtimable "value. Theſe ornaments and his purple "garments, are reſerved for his ſacred per- "ſon alone; and his robes of ſilk are em- "broidered with the figures of golden dra- "gons. His throne is of maſſy gold. "Whenever he appears in public, he is ſur- "rounded by his courtiers, his guards, and "his attendants. Their ſpears, their ſhields, "their cuiraſſes, the bridles and trappings of "their horſes, have either the ſubſtance, or "the appearance of gold; and the large "ſplendid boſs in the midſt of their ſhield, "is encircled with ſmaller boſſes, which re- "preſent the ſhape of the human eye. The "two mules that draw the chariot of the "monarch, are perfectly white, and ſhining "all over with gold. The chariot itſelf, of "pure and ſolid gold, attracts the admira- "tion of the ſpectators, who contemplate "the purple curtains, the ſnowy carpet, "the ſize of the precious ſtones, and the "reſplendent plates of gold, that glitter as "they are agitated by the motion of the "carriage. The Imperial pictures are white, "on a blue ground; the emperor appears "ſeated on his throne, with his arms, his "horſes, and his guards beſide him; and "his vanquiſhed enemies in chains at his "feet." The ſucceſſors of Conſtantine eſ- tabliſhed their perpetual reſidence in the royal city, which he had erected on the verge of Europe and Aſia. Inacceſſible to the menaces of their enemies, and perhaps to

to the complaints of their people, they received, with each wind, the tributary productions of every climate; while the impregnable ſtrength of their capital continued for ages to defy the hoſtile attempts of the Barbarians. Their dominions were bounded by the Hadriatic and the Tygris; and the whole interval of twenty-five days navigation, which ſeparated the extreme cold of Scythia from the torrid zone of Æthiophia (2), was comprehended within the limits of the empire of the Eaſt. The populous countries of that empire were the ſeat of art and learning, of luxury and wealth; and the inhabitants, who had aſſumed the language and manners of Greeks, ſtyled themſelves, with ſome appearance of truth, the moſt enlightened and civiliſed portion of the human ſpecies. The form of government was a pure and ſimple monarchy; the name of the ROMAN REPUBLIC, which ſo long preſerved a faint tradition of freedom, was confined to the Latin provinces; and the princes of Conſtantinople meaſured their greatneſs by the ſervile obedience of their people. They were ignorant how much this paſſive diſpoſition enervates and degrades every faculty of the mind. The ſubjects, who had reſigned

(2) According to the looſe reckoning, that a ſhip could ſail, with a fair wind, 1000 ſtadia, or 125 miles, in the revolution of a day and night; Diodorus Siculus computes ten days from the Palus Mœotis to Rhodes, and four days from Rhodes to Alexandria. The navigation of the Nile, from Alexandria to Syene, under the trophic of Cancer, required, as it was againſt the ſtream, ten days more. Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. p. 200. edit. Weſſeling. He might, without much impropriety, meaſure the extreme heat from the verge of the torrid zone; but he ſpeaks of the Mœotis in the 47th degree of northern latitude, as if it lay within the polar circle.

reſigned their will to the abſolute commands of a maſter, were equally incapable of guarding their lives and fortunes againſt the aſſaults of the Barbarians, or of defending their reaſon from the terrors of ſuperſtition.

Adminiſtration and character of Eutropius. A. D. 395—399.

The firſt events of the reign of Arcadius and Honorius are ſo intimately connected, that the rebellion of the Goths, and the fall of Rufinus, have already claimed a place in the hiſtory of the Weſt. It has already been obſerved, that Eutropius (3), one of the principal eunuchs of the palace of Conſtantinople, ſucceeded the haughty miniſter whoſe ruin he had accompliſhed, and whoſe vices he ſoon imitated. Every order of the ſtate bowed to the new favourite; and their tame and obſequious ſubmiſſion encouraged him to inſult the laws, and, what is ſtill more difficult and dangerous, the manners of his country. Under the weakeſt of the predeceſſors of Arcadius, the reign of the eunuchs had been ſecret, and almoſt inviſible. They inſinuated themſelves into the confidence of the prince; but their oſtenſible functions were confined to the menial ſervice of the wardrobe and Imperial bed-chamber. They might direct, in a whiſper, the public counſels, and blaſt, by their malicious ſuggeſtions, the fame and fortunes of the moſt illuſtrious citizens; but they never preſumed to

(3) Barthius, who adored his author with the blind ſuperſtition of a commentator, gives the preference to the two books which Claudian compoſed againſt Eutropius, above all his other productions (Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, tom. iv. p. 227). They are indeed a very elegant and ſpirited ſatire; and would be more valuable in an hiſtorical light, if the invective were leſs vague, and more temperate.

to ſtand forward in the front of empire (4), or to profane the public honours of the ſtate. Eutropius was the firſt of his artificial ſex, who dared to aſſume the character of a Roman magiſtrate and general (5). Sometimes, in the preſence of the bluſhing ſenate, he aſcended the tribunal, to pronounce judgment or to repeat elaborate harangues; and ſometimes appeared on horſeback, at the head of his troops, in the dreſs and armour of a hero. The diſregard of cuſtom and decency always betrays a weak and ill-regulated mind; nor does Eutropius ſeem to have compenſated for the folly of the deſign, by any ſuperior merit or ability in the execution. His former habits of life had not introduced him to the ſtudy of the laws, or the exerciſes of the field; his awkward and unſucceſsful attempts provoked the ſecret contempt of the ſpectators; the Goths expreſſed their wiſh, that *ſuch* a general might always

(4) After lamenting the progreſs of the eunuchs in the Roman palace, and defining their proper functions, Claudian adds,

——— A fronte recedant
Imperii.

In Eutrop. i. 422.

Yet it does not appear that the eunuch had aſſumed any of the efficient offices of the empire; and he is ſtyled only præpoſitus ſacri cubiculi, in the edict of his baniſhment. See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 17.

(5) Jamque oblita ſui, nec ſobria divitiis mens
In miſeras leges hominumque negotia ludit:
Judicat eunuchus. . . . . .
Arma etiam violare parat. . . .

Claudian (i. 229—270), with that mixture of indignation and humour, which always pleaſes in a ſatiric poet, deſcribes the inſolent folly of the eunuch, the diſgrace of the empire, and the joy of the Goths:

——— Gaudet, cum viderit hoſtis,
Et ſentit jam deeſſe viros.

always command the armies of Rome; and the names of the miniſter was branded with ridicule, more pernicious perhaps than hatred, to a public character. The ſubjects of Arcadius were exaſperated by the recollection, that this deformed and decrepid eunuch (6), who ſo perverſely mimicked the actions of a man, was born in the moſt abject condition of ſervitude; that, before he entered the Imperial palace, he had been ſucceſſively ſold, and purchaſed, by an hundred maſters, who had exhauſted his youthful ſtrength in every mean and infamous office, and at length diſmiſſed him, in his old age, to freedom and poverty (7). While theſe diſgraceful ſtories were circulated, and perhaps exaggerated, in private converſations, the vanity of the favourite was flattered with the moſt extraordinary honours. In the ſenate, in the capital, in the provinces, the ſtatues of Eutropius were erected, in braſs or marble, decorated with the ſymbols of his civil and military virtues, and inſcribed with the pompous title of the third

(6) The poet's lively deſcription of his deformity (i. 110—125.) is confirmed by the authentic teſtimony of Chryſoſtom (tom. iii. p. 384. edit. Montfaucon); who obſerves, that when the paint was waſhed away, the face of Eutropius appeared more ugly and wrinkled than that of an old woman. Claudian remarks (i. 469), and the remark muſt have been founded on experience, that there was ſcarcely any interval between the youth and the decrepid age of an eunuch.

(7) Eutropius appears to have been a native of Armenia or Aſſyria. His three ſervices, which Claudian more particularly deſcribes, were theſe: 1. He ſpent many years as the catamite of Ptolemy, a groom or a ſoldier of the Imperial ſtables. 2. Ptolemy gave him to the old general Arintheus, for whom he very ſkilfully exerciſed the profeſſion of a pimp. 3. He was given, on her marriage, to the daughter of Arintheus; and the future conſul was employed to comb her hair, to preſent the ſilver ewer, to waſh, and to fan his miſtreſs in hot weather. See l. i. 31—137.

third founder of Conſtantinople. He was promoted to the rank of *patrician*, which began to ſignify, in a popular, and even legal acceptation, the father of the emperor; and the laſt year of the fourth century was polluted by the *conſulſhip* of an eunuch, and a ſlave. This ſtrange and inexpiable prodigy (8) awakened, however, the prejudices of the Romans. The effeminate conſul was rejected by the Weſt, as an indelible ſtain to the annals of the republic; and, without invoking the ſhades of Brutus and Camillus, the colleague of Eutropius, a learned and reſpectable magiſtrate (9), ſufficiently repreſented the different maxims of the two adminiſtrations.

His venality and injuſtice.

The bold and vigorous mind of Rufinus ſeems to have been actuated by a more ſanguinary and revengeful ſpirit; but the avarice of the eunuch was not leſs inſatiate than that of the præfect (10). As long as he deſpoiled the oppreſſors, who had enriched themſelves with the plunder of the people, Eutropius might gratify his covetous diſpo-

(8) Claudian (l. i. in Eutrop. 1—22), after enumerating the various prodigies of monſtrous births, ſpeaking animals, ſhowers of blood or ſtones, double ſuns, &c. adds with ſome exaggeration,

Omnia ceſſerunt eunucho conſule monſtra.———

The firſt book concludes with a noble ſpeech of the goddeſs of Rome to her favourite Honorius, deprecating the *new* ignominy to which ſhe was expoſed.

(9) Fl. Mallius Theodorus, whoſe civil honours, and philoſophical works, have been celebrated by Claudian in a very elegant panegyric.

(10) Μεθυων δε ηδη του πλουτου, drunk with riches, is the forcible expreſſion of Zoſimus (l. v. p. 301); and the avarice of Eutropius is equally execrated in the Lexicon of Suidas, and the Chronicle of Marcellinus. Chryſoſtom had often admoniſhed the favourite, of the vanity and danger of immoderate wealth, tom. iii. p. 381.

diſpoſition without much envy or injuſtice: but the progreſs of his rapine ſoon invaded the wealth which had been acquired by lawful inheritance, or laudable induſtry. The uſual methods of extortion were practiſed and improved; and Claudian has ſketched a lively and original picture of the public auction of the ſtate. "The impotence of the "eunuch" (ſays that agreeable ſatiriſt) "has "ſerved only to ſtimulate his avarice: the "ſame hand which, in his ſervile condition, "was exerciſed in petty thefts, to unlock "the coffers of his maſter, now graſps the "riches of the world; and this infamous "broker of the empire appreciates and di-"vides the Roman provinces, from Mount "Hæmus to the Tigris. One man, at the "expence of his villa, is made proconſul of "Aſia; a ſecond purchaſes Syria with his "wife's jewels; and a third laments, that "he has exchanged his paternal eſtate for "the government of Bithynia. In the an-"tichamber of Eutropius, a large tablet is "expoſed to public view, which marks the "reſpective prices of the provinces. The "different value of Pontus, of Galatia, of "Lydia, is accurately diſtinguiſhed. Lycia "may be obtained for ſo many thouſand "pieces of gold; but the opulence of Phry-"gia will require a more conſiderable ſum. "The eunuch wiſhes to obliterate, by the "general diſgrace, his perſonal ignominy; "and as he has been ſold himſelf, he is de-"ſirous of ſelling the reſt of mankind. In "the eager contention, the balance, which "contains the fate and fortunes of the pro-

" vince, often trembles on the beam; and " till one of the ſcales is inclined, by a ſu- " perior weight, the mind of the impartial " judge remains in anxious ſuſpenſe (11). " Such" (continues the indignant poet) " are " the fruits of Roman valour, of the de- " feat of Antiochus, and of the triumph " of Pompey." This venal proſtitution of public honours ſecured the impunity of *future* crimes; but the riches, which Eutropius derived from confiſcation, were *already* ſtained with injuſtice; ſince it was decent to accuſe, and to condemn, the proprietors of the wealth which he was impatient to confiſcate. Some noble blood was ſhed by the hand of the executioner; and the moſt inhoſpitable extremities of the empire were filled with innocent and illuſtrious exiles. Among the generals and conſuls of the Eaſt, Abundantius (12) had reaſon to dread the firſt effects of the reſentment of Eutropius. He had been guilty of the unpardonable crime of introducing that abject ſlave to the palace of Conſtantinople: and ſome degree of praiſe muſt be allowed to a powerful and ungrateful favourite, who was ſatisfied with the diſgrace of his benefactor. Abundantius was ſtripped

Ruin of Abundantius.

(11) —— certantum ſæpe duorum
Diverſum ſuſpendit onus: cum pondere Judex
Vergit, et in geminas nutat provincia lances.

Claudian (l. 192—209.) ſo curiouſly diſtinguiſhes the circumſtances of the ſale, that they all ſeem to allude to particular anecdotes.

(12) Claudian (i. 154—170.) mentions the *guilt* and exile of Abundantius, nor could he fail to quote the example of the artiſt, who made the firſt trial of the brazen bull, which he preſented to Phalaris. See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 302. Jerom, tom. i. p. 26. The difference of place is eaſily reconciled; but the deciſive authority of Aſterius of Amaſia (Orat. iv. p. 76. apud Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 435.) muſt turn the ſcale in favour of Pityus.

ſtripped of his ample fortunes by an Imperial reſcript, and baniſhed to Pityus, on the Euxine, the laſt frontier of the Roman world; where he ſubſiſted by the precarious mercy of the Barbarians, till he could obtain, after the fall of Eutropius, a milder exile at Sidon in Phœnicia. The deſtruction of Timaſius (13) required a more ſerious and regular mode of attack. That great officer, the maſter-general of the armies of Theodoſius, had ſignalized his valour by a deciſive victory, which he obtained over the Goths of Theſſaly; but he was too prone, after the example of his ſovereign, to enjoy the luxury of peace, and to abandon his confidence to wicked and deſigning flatterers. Timaſius had deſpiſed the public clamour, by promoting an infamous dependent to the command of a cohort; and he deſerved to feel the ingratitude of Bargus, who was ſecretly inſtigated by the favourite to accuſe his patron of a treaſonable conſpiracy. The general was arraigned before the tribunal of Arcadius himſelf; and the principal eunuch ſtood by the ſide of the throne, to ſuggeſt the queſtions and anſwers of his ſovereign. But as this form of trial might be deemed partial and arbitrary, the farther enquiry into the crimes of Timaſius was delegated to Saturninus and Procopius; the former of conſular rank, the latter ſtill reſpected

of Timaſius

(13) Suidas (moſt probably from the hiſtory of Eunapius) has given a very unfavourable picture of Timaſius. The account of his accuſer, the judges, trial, &c. is perfectly agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts. (See Zoſimus, l. v. p. 298, 299, 300.) I am almoſt tempted to quote the romance of a great maſter (Fielding's Works, vol. iv. p. 49, &c. 8vo edit.), which may be conſidered as the hiſtory of human nature.

ſpected as the father-in-law of the emperor Valens. The appearances of a fair and legal proceeding were maintained by the blunt honeſty of Procopius; and he yielded with reluctance to the obſequious dexterity of his colleague, who pronounced a ſentence of condemnation againſt the unfortunate Timaſius. His immenſe riches were confiſcated, in the name of the emperor, and for the benefit of the favourite; and he was doomed to perpetual exile at Oaſis, a ſolitary ſpot in the midſt of the ſandy deſerts of Libya. (14). Secluded from all human converſe, the maſter-general of the Roman armies was loſt for ever to the world; but the circumſtances of his fate have been related in a various and contradictory manner. It is inſinuated, that Eutropius diſpatched a private order for his ſecret execution (15). It was reported, that, in attempting to eſcape from Oaſis, he periſhed in the deſert, of thirſt and hunger; and that his dead body was found on the ſands of Libya (16). It has been aſſerted, with more confidence, that his ſon Syagrius, after ſucceſsfully eluding the purſuit of the agents and emiſſaries of the court,

(14) The great Oaſis was one of the ſpots in the ſands of Libya, watered with ſprings, and capable of producing wheat, barley, and palm-trees. It was about three days journey from north to ſouth, about half a day in breadth, and at the diſtance of about five days march to the weſt of Abydus, on the Nile. See d'Anville, Deſcription de l'Egypte, p. 186, 187, 188. The barren deſert which encompaſſes Oaſis (Zoſimus, l. v. p. 300.) has ſuggeſted the idea of comparative fertility, and even the epithet of the *happy iſland* (Herodot. iii. 26).

(15) The line of Claudian, in Eutrop. l. i. 180.

Marmaricus claris violatur cædibus Hammon,

evidently alludes to *his* perſuaſion of the death of Timaſius.

(16) Sozomen, l. viii. c. 7. He ſpeaks from report, ως τινες επυθοματο.

court, collected a band of African robbers; that he rescued Timasius from the place of his exile; and that both the father and the son disappeared from the knowledge of mankind (17). But the ungrateful Bargus, instead of being suffered to possess the reward of guilt, was soon afterwards circumvented and destroyed, by the more powerful villany of the minister himself; who retained sense and spirit enough to abhor the instrument of his own crimes.

A cruel and unjust law of treason, A. D. 397, Sept. 4.

The public hatred, and the despair of individuals, continually threatened, or seemed to threaten, the personal safety of Eutropius; as well as of the numerous adherents, who were attached to his fortune, and had been promoted by his venal favour. For their mutual defence, he contrived the safeguard of a law, which violated every principle of humanity and justice (18). I. It is enacted, in the name, and by the authority, of Arcadius, that all those who shall conspire, either with subjects, or with strangers, against the lives of any of the persons whom the emperor considers as the members of his own body, shall be punished with death and confiscation. This species of fictitious and metaphorical treason is extended to protect, not only the *illustrious* officers of the state and

(17) Zosimus, l. v. p. 300. Yet he seems to suspect that this rumour was spread by the friends of Eutropius.

(18) See the Theodosian Code, l. ix. tit. 14. ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis, leg. 3. and the Code of Justinian, l. ix. tit. viii. ad legem Juliam de Majestate, leg. 5. The alteration of the *title*, from murder to treason, was an improvement of the subtle Tribonian. Godefroy, in a formal dissertation, which he has inserted in his Commentary, illustrates this law of Arcadius, and explains all the difficult passages which had been perverted by the jurisconsults of the darker ages. See tom. iii. p. 8 —111.

and army, who are admitted into the ſacred conſiſtory, but likewiſe the principal domeſtics of the palace, the ſenators of Conſtantinople, the military commanders, and the civil magiſtrates of the provinces: a vague and indefinite liſt, which, under the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine, included an obſcure and numerous train of ſubordinate miniſters. II. This extreme ſeverity might perhaps be juſtified, had it been only directed to ſecure the repreſentatives of the ſovereign from any actual violence in the execution of their office. But the whole body of Imperial dependents claimed a privilege, or rather impunity, which ſcreened them, in the looſeſt moments of their lives, from the haſty, perhaps the juſtifiable, reſentment of their fellow-citizens: and, by a ſtrange perverſion of the laws, the ſame degree of guilt and puniſhment was applied to a private quarrel, and to a deliberate conſpiracy againſt the emperor and the empire. The edict of Arcadius moſt poſitively and moſt abſurdly declares, that in ſuch caſes of treaſon, *thoughts* and *actions* ought to be puniſhed with equal ſeverity; that the knowledge of a miſchievous intention, unleſs it be inſtantly revealed, becomes equally criminal with the intention itſelf (19); and that thoſe raſh men, who ſhall preſume to ſolicit the pardon of traitors,

(19) Bartolus underſtands a ſimple and naked conſciouſneſs, without any ſign of approbation or concurrence. For this opinion, ſays Baldus, he is now roaſting in hell. For my own part, continues the diſcreet Heineccius (Element. Jur. Civil. l. iv. p. 411), I muſt approve the theory of Bartolus; but in practice I ſhould incline to the ſentiment of Baldus. Yet Bartolus was gravely quoted by the lawyers of Cardinal Richelieu; and Eutropius was indirectly guilty of the murder of the virtuous de Thou.

tors, ſhall themſelves be branded with public and perpetual infamy. III. "With regard "to the ſons of the traitors," (continues the emperor) "although they ought to ſhare "the puniſhment, ſince they will probably "imitate the guilt, of their parents; yet, "by the ſpecial effect of our Imperial lenity, "we grant them their lives: but, at the "ſame time, we declare them incapable of "inheriting, either on the father's or on the "mother's ſide, or of receiving any gift "or legacy, from the teſtament either of "kinſmen or of ſtrangers. Stigmatiſed with "hereditary infamy, excluded from the "hopes of honours or fortune, let them en-"dure the pangs of poverty and contempt, "till they ſhall conſider life as a calamity, "and death as a comfort and relief." In ſuch words, ſo well adapted to inſult the feelings of mankind, did the emperor, or rather his favourite eunuch, applaud the moderation of a law, which transferred the ſame unjuſt and inhuman penalties to the children of all thoſe who had ſeconded, or who had not diſcloſed, theſe fictitious conſpiracies. Some of the nobleſt regulations of Roman juriſprudence have been ſuffered to expire; but this edict, a convenient and forcible engine of miniſterial tyranny, was carefully inſerted in the Codes of Theodoſius and Juſtinian; and the ſame maxims have been revived in modern ages, to protect the electors of Germany, and the cardinals of the church of Rome (20).

Yet

(20) Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 89. It is, however, ſuſpected, that this law, ſo repugnant to the maxims of Germanic, freedom, has been ſurreptitiouſly added to the golden bull.

Rebellion of Tribigild A. D. 399.

Yet theſe ſanguinary laws, which ſpread terror among a diſarmed and diſpirited people, were of too weak a texture to reſtrain the bold enterpriſe of Tribigild (21) the Oſtrogoth. The colony of that warlike nation, which had been planted by Theodoſius in one of the moſt fertile diſtricts of Phrygia (22), impatiently compared the ſlow returns of laborious huſbandry, with the ſucceſsful rapine and liberal rewards of Alaric; and their leader reſented, as a perſonal affront, his own ungracious reception in the palace of Conſtantinople. A ſoft and wealthy province, in the heart of the empire, was aſtoniſhed by the ſound of war; and the faithful vaſſal, who had been diſregarded or oppreſſed, was again reſpected, as ſoon as he reſumed the hoſtile character of a Barbarian. The vineyards and fruitful fields, between the rapid Marſyas and the winding Mæander (23), were conſumed with fire; the decayed walls of the cities crumbled into duſt, at

(21) A copious and circumſtantial narrative (which he might have reſerved for more important events) is beſtowed by Zoſimus (l. v. p. 304—312.) on the revolt of Tribigild and Gainas. See likewiſe Socrates, l. vi. c. 6. and Sozomen, l. viii. c. 4. The ſecond book of Claudian againſt Eutropius, is a fine, though imperfect, piece of hiſtory.

(22) Claudian (in Eutrop. l. ii. 237—250.) very accurately obſerves, that the ancient name and nation of the Phrygians extended very far on every ſide, till their limits were contracted by the colonies of the Bithynians of Thrace, of the Greeks, and at laſt of the Gauls. His deſcription (ii. 257—272.) of the fertility of Phrygia, and of the four rivers that produce gold, is juſt and pictureſque.

(23) Xenophon. Anabaſis, l. i. p. 11, 12. edit. Hutchinſon. Strabo, l. xii. p. 865. edit. Amſtel. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1. Claudian compares the junction of the Marſyas and Mæander to that of the Saone and the Rhône; with this difference, however, that the ſmaller of the Phrygian rivers is not accelerated, but retarded, by the larger.

at the firſt ſtroke of an enemy; the trembling inhabitants eſcaped from a bloody maſſacre to the ſhores of the Helleſpont; and a conſiderable part of Aſia Minor was deſolated by the rebellion of Tribigild. His rapid progreſs was checked by the reſiſtance of the peaſants of Pamphylia; and the Oſtrogoths, attacked in a narrow paſs, between the city of Selgæ (24), a deep moraſs, and the craggy cliffs of Mount Taurus, were defeated with the loſs of their braveſt troops. But the ſpirit of their chief was not daunted by misfortune; and his army was continually recruited by ſwarms of Barbarians and outlaws, who were deſirous of exerciſing the profeſſion of robbery, under the more honourable names of war and conqueſt. The rumours of the ſucceſs of Tribigild might for ſome time be ſuppreſſed by fear, or diſguiſed by flattery; yet they gradually alarmed both the court and the capital. Every misfortune was exaggerated in dark and doubtful hints; and the future deſigns of the rebels became the ſubject of anxious conjecture. Whether Tribigild advanced into the inland country, the Romans were inclined to ſuppoſe that he meditated the paſſage of Mount Taurus, and the invaſion of Syria. If he deſcended towards the ſea, they imputed, and perhaps ſuggeſted, to the Gothic chief, the more dangerous project of arming a fleet in the harbours of Ionia, and of extending his depredations along the maritime

(24) Selgæ, a colony of the Lacedæmonians, had formerly numbered twenty thouſand citizens; but in the age of Zoſimus it was reduced to a πολιχνη, or ſmall town. See Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 117.

time coaſt, from the mouth of the Nile to the port of Conſtantinople. The approach of danger, and the obſtinacy of Tribigild, who refuſed all terms of accommodation, compelled Eutropius to ſummon a council of war (25). After claiming for himſelf the privilege of a veteran ſoldier, the eunuch entruſted the guard of Thrace and the Helleſpont to Gainas the Goth; and the command of the Aſiatic army to his favourite Leo; two generals, who differently, but effectually, promoted the cauſe of the rebels. Leo (26) who, from the bulk of his body, and the dulneſs of his mind, was ſurnamed the Ajax of the Eaſt, had deſerted his original trade of a woolcomber, to exerciſe, with much leſs ſkill and ſucceſs, the military profeſſion: and his uncertain operations were capriciouſly framed and executed, with an ignorance of real difficulties, and a timorous neglect of every favourable opportunity. The raſhneſs of the Oſtrogoths had drawn them into a diſadvantageous poſition between the rivers Melas and Eurymedon, where they were almoſt beſieged by the peaſants of Pamphylia; but the arrival of an Imperial army, inſtead of completing their deſtruction, afforded the means of ſafety and victory. Tribigild ſurpriſed the unguarded camp

(25) The council of Eutropius, in Claudian, may be compared to that of Domitian in the fourth ſatire of Juvenal. The principal members of the former were, juvenes protervi laſcivique ſenes; one of them had been a cook, a ſecond a woolcomber. The language of their original profeſſion expoſes their aſſumed dignity; and their trifling converſation about tragedies, dancers, &c. is made ſtill more ridiculous by the importance of the debate.

(26) Claudian (l. ii. 376—461.) has branded him with infamy; and Zoſimus, in more temperate language, confirms his reproaches. L. v. p 305.

camp of the Romans, in the darkneſs of the night; ſeduced the faith of the greater part of the Barbarian auxiliaries, and diſſipated, without much effort, the troops, which had been corrupted by the relaxation of diſcipline, and the luxury of the capital. The diſcontent of Gainas, who had ſo boldly contrived and executed the death of Ruſinus, was irritated by the fortune of his unworthy ſucceſſor; he accuſed his own diſhonourable patience under the ſervile reign of an eunuch; and the ambitious Goth was convicted, at leaſt in the public opinion, of ſecretly fomenting the revolt of Tribigild, with whom he was connected by a domeſtic, as well as by a national alliance (27). When Gainas paſſed the Helleſpont, to unite under his ſtandard the remains of the Aſiatic troops, he ſkilfully adapted his motions to the wiſhes of the Oſtrogoths; abandoning, by his retreat, the country which they deſired to invade; or facilitating, by his approach, the deſertion of the Barbarian auxiliaries. To the Imperial court he repeatedly magnified the valour, the genius, the inexhauſtible reſources of Tribigild; confeſſed his own inability to proſecute the war; and extorted the permiſſion of negociating with his invincible adverſary. The conditions of peace were dictated by the haughty rebel; and the peremptory demand of the head of Eutropius, revealed the author and the deſign of this hoſtile conſpiracy.

The

(27) The *conſpiracy* of Gainas and Tribigild, which is atteſted by the Greek hiſtorian, had not reached the ears of Claudian, who attributes the revolt of the Oſtrogoth to his own *martial* ſpirit, and the advice of his wife.

Fall of Eutropius, A. D. 399.

The bold ſatiriſt, who has indulged his diſcontent by the partial and paſſionate cenſure of the Chriſtian emperor, violates the dignity, rather than the truth, of hiſtory, by comparing the ſon of Theodoſius to one of thoſe harmleſs and ſimple animals, who ſcarcely feel that they are the property of their ſhepherd. Two paſſions, however, fear and conjugal affection, awakened the languid ſoul of Arcadius: he was terrified by the threats of a victorious Barbarian; and he yielded to the tender eloquence of his wife Eudoxia, who, with a flood of artificial tears, preſenting her infant children to their father, implored his juſtice for ſome real or imaginary inſult, which ſhe imputed to the audacious eunuch (28). The emperor's hand was directed to ſign the condemnation of Eutropius; the magic ſpell, which during four years had bound the prince and the people, was inſtantly diſſolved; and the acclamations, that ſo lately hailed the merit and fortune of the favourite, were converted into the clamours of the ſoldiers and people, who reproached his crimes, and preſſed his immediate execution. In this hour of diſtreſs and deſpair, his only refuge was in the ſanctuary of the church, whoſe privileges he had wiſely, or profanely, attempted to circumſcribe; and the moſt eloquent of the ſaints, John Chryſoſtom, enjoyed the triumph of protecting a proſtrate miniſter, whoſe choice had raiſed him to the eccleſiaſtical throne of Con-

(28) This anecdote, which Philoſtorgius alone has preſerved (l. xi. c. 6. and Gothofred. Diſſertat. p. 451—456), is curious and important; ſince it connects the revolt of the Goths with the ſecret intrigues of the palace.

Conſtantinople. The archbiſhop, aſcending the pulpit of the cathedral, that he might be diſtinctly ſeen and heard by an innumerable crowd of either ſex and of every age, pronounced a ſeaſonable and pathetic diſcourſe on the forgiveneſs of injuries, and the inſtability of human greatneſs. The agonies of the pale and affrighted wretch, who lay groveling under the table of the altar, exhibited a ſolemn and inſtructive ſpectacle; and the orator, who was afterwards accuſed of inſulting the misfortunes of Eutropius, laboured to excite the contempt, that he might aſſuage the fury of the people (29). The powers of humanity, of ſuperſtition, and of eloquence prevailed. The empreſs Eudoxia was reſtrained, by her own prejudices, or by thoſe of her ſubjects, from violating the ſanctuary of the church; and Eutropius was tempted to capitulate, by the milder arts of perſuaſion, and by an oath, that his life ſhould be ſpared (30). Careleſs of the dignity of their ſovereign, the new miniſters of the palace immediately publiſhed an edict, to declare,

(29) See the Homily of Chryſoſtom, tom. iii. p. 381—386. of which the exordium is particularly beautiful. Socrates, l. vi. c. 5. Sozomen, l. viii. c. 7. Montfacon (in his Life of Chryſoſtom, tom. xiii. p. 135.) too haſtily ſuppoſes that Tribigild was *actually* in Conſtantinople; and that he commanded the ſoldiers who were ordered to ſeize Eutropius. Even Claudian, a Pagan poet (Præfat. ad l. ii. in Eutrop. 27), has mentioned the flight of the eunuch to the ſanctuary.

Suppliciterque pias humilis proſtratus ad aras
Mitigat iratas voce tremente nurus.

(30) Chryſoſtom, in another homily (tom. iii. p. 386), affects to declare, that Eutropius would not have been taken, had he not deſerted the church. Zoſimus (l. v. p. 313), on the contrary, pretends, that his enemies forced him (εξαγαγοντες αυτον) from the ſanctuary. Yet the promiſe is an evidence of ſome treaty; and the ſtrong aſſurance of Claudian (Præfat. ad l. ii. 46),

Sed tamen exemplo non feriere tuo,

may be conſidered as an evidence of ſome promiſe.

declare, that his late favourite had diſgraced the names of conſul and patrician, to aboliſh his ſtatues, to confiſcate his wealth, and to inflict a perpetual exile in the iſland of Cyprus (31). A deſpicable and decrepid eunuch could no longer alarm the fears of his enemies; nor was he capable of enjoying what yet remained, the comforts of peace, of ſolitude, and of a happy climate. But their implacable revenge ſtill envied him the laſt moments of a miſerable life, and Eutropius had no ſooner touched the ſhores of Cyprus, than he was haſtily recalled. The vain hope of eluding, by a change of place, the obligation of an oath, engaged the empreſs to transfer the ſcene of his trial and execution, from Conſtantinople to the adjacent ſuburb of Chalcedon. The conſul Aurelian pronounced the ſentence; and the motives of that ſentence expoſe the juriſprudence of a deſpotic government. The crimes which Eutropius had committed againſt the people, might have juſtified his death; but he was found guilty of harneſſing to his chariot the *ſacred* animals, who, from their breed, or colour, were reſerved for the uſe of the emperor alone (32).

Conſpiracy and fall of Gainas, A. D. 400.

While this domeſtic revolution was tranſacted, Gainas (33) openly revolted from his allegiance;

(31) Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xl. leg. 14. The date of that law (Jan. 17, A. D. 399.) is erroneous and corrupt; ſince the fall of Eutropius could not happen till the autumn of the ſame year. See Tillemont, Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 780.

(32) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 313. Philoſtorgius, l. xi. c. 6.

(33) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 313—323), Socrates (l. vi. c. 4), Sozomen (l. viii. c. 4), and Theodoret (l. v. c. 32, 33), repreſent, though with ſome various circumſtances, the conſpiracy, defeat, and death of Gainas.

allegiance; united his forces, at Thyatira in Lydia, with thoſe of Tribigild; and ſtill maintained his ſuperior aſcendant over the rebellious leader of the Oſtrogoths. The confederate armies advanced, without reſiſtance, to the Streights of the Helleſpont, and the Boſphorus; and Arcadius was inſtructed to prevent the loſs of his Aſiatic dominions, by reſigning his authority and his perſon to the faith of the Barbarians. The church of the holy martyr Euphemia, ſituate on a lofty eminence near Chalcedon (34), was choſen for the place of the interview. Gainas bowed, with reverence, at the feet of the emperor, whilſt he required the ſacrifice of Aurelian and Saturninus, two miniſters of conſular rank; and their naked necks were expoſed, by the haughty rebel, to the edge of the ſword, till he condeſcended to grant them a precarious and diſgraceful reſpite. The Goths, according to the terms of the agreement, were immediately tranſported from Aſia into Europe; and their victorious chief, who accepted the title of maſter-general of the Roman armies, ſoon filled Conſtantinople with his troops, and diſtributed among his dependents, the honours and rewards of the empire. In his early youth, Gainas has paſſed the Danube as a ſuppliant, and a fugitive: his elevation had been the work of valour and fortune; and his indiſcreet, or perfidious conduct, was the cauſe of his

(34) Οσιας Ευφημιας μαρτυριον, is the expreſſion of Zoſimus himſelf (l. v. 314.), who inadvertently uſes the faſhionable language of the Chriſtians. Evagrius deſcribes (l. ii. c. 3.) the ſituation, architecture, relics, and miracles of that celebrated church, in which the general council of Chalcedon was afterwards held.

his rapid downfal. Notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the archbiſhop, he importunately claimed, for his Arian ſectaries, the poſſeſſion of a peculiar church; and the pride of the catholics was offended by the public toleration of hereſy (35). Every quarter of Conſtantinople was filled with tumult and diſorder; and the Barbarians gazed with ſuch ardour on the rich ſhops of the jewellers, and the tables of the bankers, which were covered with gold and ſilver, that it was judged prudent to remove thoſe dangerous temptations from their ſight. They reſented the injurious precaution; and ſome alarming attempts were made, during the night, to attack and deſtroy with fire the Imperial palace (36). In this ſtate of mutual
July 20. and ſuſpicious hoſtility, the guards, and the people of Conſtantinople, ſhut the gates, and roſe in arms to prevent, or to puniſh, the conſpiracy of the Goths. During the abſence of Gainas, his troops were ſurpriſed and oppreſſed; ſeven thouſand Barbarians periſhed in this bloody maſſacre. In the fury of the purſuit, the catholics uncovered the roof, and continued to throw down flaming logs of wood, till they overwhelmed their adverſaries, who had retreated to the church or conventicle of the Arians. Gainas was either innocent

(35) The pious remonſtrances of Chryſoſtom, which do not appear in his own writings, are ſtrongly urged by Theodoret; but his inſinuation, that they were ſucceſsful, is diſproved by facts. Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. 383) has diſcovered, that the emperor, to ſatisfy the rapacious demands of Gainas, was obliged to melt the plate of the church of the Apoſtles.

(36) The eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, who ſometimes guide, and ſometimes follow, the public opinion, moſt confidently aſſert, that the palace of Conſtantinople was guarded by legions of angels.

innocent of the deſign, or too confident of his ſucceſs: he was aſtoniſhed by the intelligence, that the flower of his army had been ingloriouſly deſtroyed; that he himſelf was declared a public enemy; and that his countryman, Fravitta, a brave and loyal confederate, had aſſumed the management of the war by ſea and land. The enterpriſes of the rebel, againſt the cities of Thrace, were encountered by a firm and well-ordered defence: his hungry ſoldiers, were ſoon reduced to the graſs that grew on the margin of the fortifications; and Gainas, who vainly regretted the wealth and luxury of Aſia, embraced a deſperate reſolution of forcing the paſſage of the Helleſpont. He was deſtitute of veſſels; but the woods of the Cherſoneſus afforded materials for rafts, and his intrepid Barbarians did not refuſe to truſt themſelves to the waves. But Fravitta attentively watched the progreſs of their undertaking. As ſoon as they had gained the middle of the ſtream, the Roman gallies (37), impelled by the full force, of oars, of the current, and of a favourable wind, ruſhed forwards in compact order, and with irreſiſtible weight; and the Helleſpont was covered with the fragments of the Gothic ſhipwreck. After the deſtruction of his hopes, and the loſs of many thouſands of his braveſt ſoldiers, Gainas, who December 23.

(37) Zoſimus (l. v. p. 319.) mentions theſe gallies by the name of *Liburnians*, and obſerves, that they were as ſwift (without explaining the difference between them) as the veſſels with fifty oars; but that they were far inferior in ſpeed to the *triremes*, which had been long diſuſed. Yet he reaſonably concludes, from the teſtimony of Polybius, that gallies of a ſtill greater ſize had been conſtructed in the Punic wars. Since the eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire over the Mediterranean, the uſeleſs art of building large ſhips of war had probably been neglected, and at length forgotten.

could no longer aſpire to govern, or to ſubdue, the Romans, determined to reſume the independence of a ſavage life. A light and active body of Barbarian horſe, diſengaged from their infantry and baggage might perform, in eight or ten days, a march of three hundred miles from the Helleſpont to the Danube (38), the garriſons of that important frontier had been gradually annihilated; the river, in the month of December, would be deeply frozen; and the unbounded proſpect of Scythia was open to the ambition of Gainas. This deſign was ſecretly communicated to the national troops, who devoted themſelves to the fortunes of their leader; and before the ſignal of departure was given, a great number of provincial auxiliaries, whom he ſuſpected of an attachment to their native country, were perfidiouſly maſſacred. The Goths advanced, by rapid marches, through the plains of Thrace; and they were ſoon delivered from the fear of a purſuit, by the vanity of Fravitta, who, inſtead of extinguiſhing the war, haſtened to enjoy the popular applauſe, and to aſſume the peaceful honours of the conſulſhip. But a formidable ally appeared in arms to vindicate the majeſty of the empire, and to guard the peace and liberty of Scythia (39). The ſuperior

(38) Chiſhull (Travels, p. 61—63. 72—76.) proceeded from Gallipoli, through Hadrianople, to the Danube, in about fifteen days. He was in the train of an Engliſh ambaſſador, whoſe baggage conſiſted of ſeventy-one waggons. That learned traveller has the merit of tracing a curious and unfrequented route.

(39) The narrative of Zoſimus, who actually leads Gainas beyond the Danube, muſt be corrected by the teſtimony of Socrates, and Sozomen, that he was killed in *Thrace*; and by the preciſe and

perior forces of Uldin, king of the Huns, oppoſed the progreſs of Gainas; an hoſtile and ruined country prohibited his retreat; he diſdained to capitulate; and after repeatedly attempting to cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he was ſlain, with his deſperate followers, in the field of battle. Eleven days after the naval victory of the Helleſpont, the head of Gainas, the ineſtimable gift of the conqueror, was received at Conſtantinople with the moſt liberal expreſſions of gratitude; and the public deliverance was celebrated by feſtivals and illuminations. The triumphs of Arcadius became the ſubject of epic poems (40); and the monarch, no longer oppreſſed by any hoſtile terrors, reſigned himſelf to the mild and abſolute dominion of his wife, the fair and artful Eudoxia; who has ſullied her fame by the perſecution of St. John Chryſoſtom.

A. D. 401, January 3.

After the death of the indolent Nectarius, the ſucceſſor of Gregory Nazianzen, the church of Conſtantinople was diſtracted by the ambition of rival candidates, who were not aſhamed to ſolicit, with gold or flattery, the ſuffrage of the people, or of the favourite. On this occaſion, Eutropius ſeems to have deviated from his ordinary maxims; and

Election and merit of Chryſoſtom, A. D. 398, February 26.

and authentic dates of the Alexandrian, or Paſchal, Chronicle, p. 307. The naval victory of the Helleſpont is fixed to the month Apellæus, the tenth of the calends of January (December 23.); the head of Gainas was brought to Conſtantinople the third of the nones of January (January 3.), in the month Audynæus.

(40) Euſebius Scholaſticus acquired much fame by his poem on the Gothic war, in which he had ſerved. Near forty years afterwards, Ammonius recited another poem on the ſame ſubject, in the preſence of the emperor Theodoſius. See Socrates, l. vi. c. 6.

his uncorrupted judgment was determined only by the ſuperior merit of a ſtranger. In a late journey into the Eaſt, he had admired the ſermons of John, a native and preſbyter of Antioch, whoſe name has been diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Chryſoſtom, or the Golden Mouth (41). A private order was diſpatched to the governor of Syria; and as the people might be unwilling to reſign their favourite preacher, he was tranſported, with ſpeed and ſecrecy, in a poſt-chariot, from Antioch to Conſtantinople. The unanimous and unſolicited conſent of the court, the clergy, and the people, ratified the choice of the miniſter; and, both as a ſaint, and as an orator, the new archbiſhop ſurpaſſed the ſanguine expectations of the public. Born of a noble and opulent family, in the capital of Syria, Chryſoſtom had been educated, by the care of a tender mother, under the tuition of the moſt ſkilful maſters. He ſtudied the art of rhetoric in the ſchool

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attribute to the Chriſtian orator, the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages which he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philoſophy; an inexhauſtible fund of metaphors and ſimilitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illuſtrate the moſt familiar topics; the happy art of engaging the paſſions in the ſervice of virtue; and of expoſing the folly, as well as the turpitude, of vice, almoſt with the truth and ſpirit of a dramatic repreſentation.

His adminiſtration and defects, A. D. 398—403.

The paſtoral labours of the archbiſhop of Conſtantinople provoked and gradually united againſt him, two ſorts of enemies; the aſpiring clergy, who envied his ſucceſs, and the obſtinate ſinners, who were offended by his reproofs. When Chryſoſtom thundered, from the pulpit of St. Sophia, againſt the degeneracy of the Chriſtians, his ſhafts were ſpent among the crowd, without wounding, or even marking, the character of any individual. When he declaimed againſt the peculiar vices of the rich, poverty might obtain a tranſient conſolation from his invectives: but the guilty were ſtill ſheltered by their numbers; and the reproach itſelf was dignified by ſome ideas of ſuperiority, and enjoyment. But as the pyramid roſe towards the ſummit, it inſenſibly diminiſhed to a point; and the magiſtrates, the miniſters, the favourite eunuchs, the ladies of the court (43), the empreſs Eudoxia herſelf,

(43) The females of Conſtantinople diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their enmity or their attachment to Chryſoſtom. Three noble and opulent widows, Marſa, Caſtricia, and Eugraphia, were the leaders

ſelf, had a much larger ſhare of guilt, to divide among a ſmaller proportion of criminals. The perſonal applications of the audience were anticipated, or confirmed, by the teſtimony of their own conſcience; and the intrepid preacher aſſumed the dangerous right of expoſing both the offence, and the offender, to the public abhorrence. The ſecret reſentment of the court encouraged the diſcontent of the clergy and monks of Conſtantinople, who were too haſtily reformed by the fervent zeal of their archbiſhop. He had condemned, from the pulpit, the domeſtic females of the clergy of Conſtantinople, who, under the name of ſervants, or ſiſters, afforded a perpetual occaſion either of ſin, or of ſcandal. The ſilent and ſolitary aſcetics, who had ſecluded themſelves from the world, were intitled to the warmeſt approbation of Chryſoſtom; but he deſpiſed and ſtigmatiſed, as the diſgrace of their holy profeſſion, the crowd of degenerate monks, who from ſome unworthy motives of pleaſure or profit, ſo frequently infeſted the ſtreets of the capital. To the voice of perſuaſion, the archbiſhop was obliged to add the terrors of authority; and his ardour, in the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, was not always exempt from paſſion; nor was it always guided by prudence. Chryſoſtom was

leaders of the perſecution (Pallad. Dialog. tom. xiii. p. 14.). It was impoſſible that they ſhould forgive a preacher, who reproached their affectation to conceal, by the ornaments of dreſs, their age and uglineſs (Pallad. p. 27.). Olympias, by equal zeal, diſplayed in a more pious cauſe, has obtained the title of ſaint. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. 416—440.

was naturally of a choleric diſpoſition (44). Although he ſtruggled according to the precepts of the goſpel, to love his private enemies, he indulged himſelf in the privilege of hating the enemies of God, and the church; and his ſentiments were ſometimes delivered with too much energy of countenance and expreſſion. He ſtill maintained, from ſome conſiderations of health, or abſtinence, his former habits of taking his repaſts alone; and this inhoſpitable cuſtom (45), which his enemies imputed to pride, contributed, at leaſt, to nouriſh the infirmity of a moroſe and unſocial humour. Separated from that familiar intercourſe, which facilitates the knowledge and the diſpatch of buſineſs, he repoſed an unſuſpecting confidence in his deacon Serapion; and ſeldom applied his ſpeculative knowledge of human nature to the particular characters, either of his dependents, or of his equals. Conſcious of the purity of his intentions, and perhaps of the ſuperiority of his genius, the archbiſhop of Conſtantinople extended the juriſdiction of the Imperial city, that he might enlarge the ſphere of his paſtoral labours; and the conduct which the profane imputed to an ambitious

(44) Sozomen, and more eſpecially Socrates, have defined the real character of Chryſoſtom with a temperate and impartial freedom, very offenſive to his blind admirers. Thoſe hiſtorians lived in the next generation, when party violence was abated, and had converſed with many perſons intimately acquainted with the virtues and imperfections of the ſaint.

(45) Palladius (tom. xiii. p. 40, &c.) very ſeriouſly defends the archbiſhop. 1. He never taſted wine. 2. The weakneſs of his ſtomach required a peculiar diet. 3. Buſineſs or ſtudy, or devotion, often kept him faſting till ſun-ſet. 4. He deteſted the noiſe and levity of great dinners. 5. He ſaved the expence for the uſe of the poor. 6. He was apprehenſive, in a capital like Conſtantinople, of the envy and reproach of partial invitations.

ambitious motive, appeared to Chryſoſtom himſelf in the light of a ſacred and indiſpenſable duty. In his viſitation through the Aſiatic provinces, he depoſed thirteen biſhops of Lydia and Phrygia; and indiſcreetly declared, that a deep corruption of ſimony and licentiouſneſs had infected the whole epiſcopal order (46). If thoſe biſhops were innocent, ſuch a raſh and unjuſt condemnation muſt excite a well-grounded diſcontent. If they were guilty, the numerous aſſociates of their guilt would ſoon diſcover, that their own ſafety depended on the ruin of the archbiſhop; whom they ſtudied to repreſent as the tyrant of the Eaſtern church.

Chryſoſtom is perſecuted by the empreſs Eudoxia, A. D. 403.

This eccleſiaſtical conſpiracy was managed by Theophilus (47), archbiſhop of Alexandria, an active and ambitious prelate, who diſplayed the fruits of rapine in monuments of oſtentation. His national diſlike to the riſing greatneſs of a city, which degraded him from the ſecond, to the third rank, in the Chriſtian world, was exaſperated by ſome perſonal diſputes with Chryſoſtom himſelf (48). By the private invitation of the empreſs, Theophilus landed at Conſtantinople, with a ſtout body of Egyptian mariners, to encounter the populace; and a train of dependent biſhops, to ſecure, by their voices, the

(46) Chryſoſtom declares his free opinion (tom. ix. hom. iii. in Act. Apoſtol. p. 29.), that the number of biſhops, who might be ſaved, bore a very ſmall proportion to thoſe who would be damned.

(47) See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 441—500.

(48) I have purpoſely omitted the controverſy which aroſe among the monks of Egypt, concerning Origeniſm and Antropomorphiſm; the diſſimulation and violence of Theophilus; his artful management of the ſimplicity of Epiphanus; the perſecution and flight of the *long*, or tall, brothers; the ambiguous ſupport which they received at Conſtantinople from Chryſoſtom, &c. &c.

the majority of a ſynod. The ſynod (49) was convened in the ſuburb of Chalcedon, ſurnamed the *Oak*, where Rufinus had erected a ſtately church and monaſtery; and their proceedings were continued during fourteen days, or ſeſſions. A biſhop and a deacon accuſed the archbiſhop of Conſtantinople; but the frivolous or improbable nature of the forty-ſeven articles which they preſented againſt him, may juſtly be conſidered as a fair and unexceptionable panegyric. Four ſucceſſive ſummons were ſignified to Chryſoſtom; but he ſtill refuſed to truſt either his perſon, or his reputation, in the hands of his implacable enemies, who prudently declining the examination of any particular charges, condemned his contumacious diſobedience, and haſtily pronounced a ſentence of depoſition. The ſynod of the *Oak* immediately addreſſed the emperor to ratify and execute their judgment, and charitably inſinuated, that the penalties of treaſon might be inflicted on the audacious preacher, who had reviled, under the name of Jezabel, the empreſs Eudoxia herſelf. The archbiſhop was rudely arreſted, and conducted through the city, by one of the Imperial meſſengers, who landed him, after a ſhort navigation, near the entrance of the Euxine; from whence, before the expiration of two days, he was glorioufly recalled.

The

(49) Photius (p. 53—60.) has preſerved the original acts of the ſynod of the Oak; which deſtroyed the falſe aſſertion, that Chryſoſtom was condemned by no more than thirty-ſix biſhops, of whom twenty-nine were Egyptians. Forty-five biſhops ſubſcribed his ſentence. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. ix. p. 595.

The firſt aſtoniſhment of his faithful people had been mute and paſſive; they ſuddenly roſe with unanimous and irreſiſtible fury. Theophilus eſcaped; but the promiſcuous crowd of monks and Egyptian mariners was ſlaughtered without pity in the ſtreets of Conſtantinople (50). A ſeaſonable earthquake juſtified the interpoſition of heaven; the torrent of ſedition rolled forwards to the gates of the palace; and the empreſs, agitated by fear, or remorſe, threw himſelf at the feet of Arcadius, and confeſſed, that the public ſafety could be purchaſed only by the reſtoration of Chryſoſtom. The Boſphorus was covered with innumerable veſſels; the ſhores of Europe and Aſia were profuſely illuminated; and the acclamations of a victorious people accompanied from the port to the cathedral, the triumph of the archbiſhop; who, too eaſily, conſented to reſume the exerciſe of his functions before his ſentence had been legally reverſed by the authority of an eccleſiaſtical ſynod. Ignorant, or careleſs, of the impending danger, Chryſoſtom indulged his zeal, or perhaps his reſentment; declaimed with peculiar aſperity againſt *female* vices; and condemned the profane honours which were addreſſed, almoſt in the precincts of St. Sophia, to the ſtatue of the empreſs. His imprudence tempted

Popular tumults at Conſtantinople.

(50) Palladius owns (p. 30.), that if the people of Conſtantinople had found Theophilus, they would certainly have thrown him into the ſea. Socrates mentions (l. vi. c. 17.) a battle between the mob and the ſailors of Alexandria, in which many wounds were given, and ſome lives were loſt. The maſſacre of the monks is obſerved only by the Pagan Zoſimus (l. v. p. 324.), who acknowledges that Chryſoſtom had a ſingular talent to lead the illiterate multitude, ην γαρ ο ανθρωπος αλογον οχλον υπαγαγεσθαι δεινος.

tempted his enemies to inflame the haughty ſpirit of Eudoxia, by reporting, or perhaps inventing, the famous exordium of a ſermon. "Herodias is again furious; Hero-" dias again dances; ſhe once more requires "the head of John:" an inſolent alluſion, which, as a woman and a ſovereign, it was impoſſible for her to forgive (51). The ſhort interval of a perfidious truce was employed to concert more effectual meaſures for the diſgrace and ruin of the archbiſhop. A numerous council of the Eaſtern prelates, who were guided from a diſtance by the advice of Theophilus, confirmed the validity, without examining the juſtice, of the former ſentence; and a detachment of Barbarian troops was introduced into the city, to ſuppreſs the emotions of the people. On the vigil of Eaſter, the ſolemn adminiſtration of baptiſm was rudely interrupted by the ſoldiers, who alarmed the modeſty of the naked cathecumens, and violated, by their preſence, the awful myſteries of the Chriſtian worſhip. Arſacius occupied the church of St. Sophia, and the archiepiſcopal throne. The catholics retreated to the baths of Conſtantine, and afterwards to the fields: where they were ſtill purſued and inſulted by the guards, the biſhops, and the magiſtrates. The fatal day of the ſecond and final exile of Chryſoſtom was marked by the conflagration of the cathedral, of the ſenate-houſe, and of the adjacent

(51) See Socrates, l. vi. c. 18. Sozomen, l. viii. c. 20. Zoſimus (l. v. p. 324. 327.) mentions, in general terms, his invectives againſt Eudoxia. The homily, which begins with thoſe famous words, is rejected as ſpurious. Montfaucon, tom. xiii. p. 151. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xi. p. 603.

jacent buildings; and this calamity was imputed, without proof, but not without probability, to the deſpair of a perſecuted faction (52).

Exile of Chryſoſtom, A. D. 404. June 20.

Cicero might claim ſome merit, if his voluntary baniſhment preſerved the peace of the republic (53); but the ſubmiſſion of Chryſoſtom was the indiſpenſable duty of a Chriſtian and a ſubject. Inſtead of liſtening to his humble prayer, that he might be permitted to reſide at Cyzicus, or Nicomedia, the inflexible empreſs aſſigned for his exile the remote and deſolate town of Cucuſus, among the ridges of Mount Taurus, in the Leſſer Armenia. A ſecret hope was entertained, that the archbiſhop might periſh in a difficult and dangerous march of ſeventy days in the heat of ſummer, through the provinces of Aſia Minor, where he was continually threatened by the hoſtile attacks of the Iſaurians, and the more implacable fury of the monks. Yet Chryſoſtom arrived in ſafety at the place of his confinement; and the three years, which he ſpent at Cucuſus, and the neighbouring town of Arabiſſus, were the laſt and moſt glorious of his life. His character was conſecrated by abſence and perſecution; the faults of his adminiſtration were no longer remembered; but every tongue repeated the praiſes of his genius and virtue: and the reſpectful attention of the

(52) We might naturally expect ſuch a charge from Zoſimus (l. v. p. 327.); but it is remarkable enough, that it ſhould be confirmed by Socrates, l. vi c. 18. and the Paſchal Chronicle, p. 307.

(53) He diſplays thoſe ſpecious motives (Poſt Reditum, c. 13, 14.) in the language of an orator and a politician.

the Chriſtian world was fixed on a deſert ſpot among the mountains of Taurus. From that ſolitude, the archbiſhop, whoſe active mind was invigorated by misfortunes, maintained a ſtrict and frequent correſpondence (54) with the moſt diſtant provinces; exhorted the ſeparate congregation of his faithful adherents to perſevere in their allegiance; urged the deſtruction of the temples of Phœnicia, and the extirpation of hereſy in the iſle of Cyprus; extended his paſtoral care to the miſſions of Perſia and Scythia; negociated, by his ambaſſadors, with the Roman pontiff, and the emperor Honorius; and boldly appealed, from a partial ſynod, to the ſupreme tribunal of a free and general council. The mind of the illuſtrious exile was ſtill independent; but his captive body was expoſed to the revenge of the oppreſſors, who continued to abuſe the name and authority of Arcadius (55). An order was diſpatched for the inſtant removal of Chryſoſtom to the extreme deſert of Pityus; and his guards ſo faithfully obeyed their cruel inſtructions,

(54) Two hundred and forty-two of the epiſtles of Chryſoſtom are ſtill extant (Opera, tom. iii. p. 528—736.). They are addreſſed to a great variety of perſons, and ſhew a firmneſs of mind, much ſuperior to that of Cicero in his exile. The fourteenth epiſtle contains a curious narrative of the dangers of his journey.

(55) After the exile of Chryſoſtom, Theophilus publiſhed an *enormous* and *horrible* volume againſt him, in which he perpetually repeats the polite expreſſions of hoſtem humanitatis, ſacrilegorum principem, immundum dæmonem; he affirms, that John Chryſoſtom had delivered his ſoul to be adulterated by the Devil; and wiſhes that ſome farther puniſhment, adequate (if poſſible) to the magnitude of his crimes, may be inflicted on him. St. Jerom, at the requeſt of his friend Theophilus, tranſlated this edifying performance from Greek into Latin. See Facundus Hermian. Defenſ. pro iii Capitul. l. vi. c. 5. publiſhed by Sirmond. Opera, tom. ii. p. 595, 596, 597.

ſtructions, that before he reached the ſea-coaſt of the Euxine, he expired at Comana, in Pontus, in the ſixtieth year of his age. The ſucceeding generation acknowledged his innocence and merit. The archbiſhops of the Eaſt, who might bluſh, that their predeceſſors had been the enemies of Chryſoſtom, were gradually diſpoſed, by the firmneſs of the Roman pontiff, to reſtore the honours of that venerable name (56). At the pious ſolicitation of the clergy and people of Conſtantinople, his relics, thirty years after his death, were tranſported from their obſcure ſepulchre to the royal city (57). The emperor Theodoſius advanced to receive them as far as Chalcedon; and, falling proſtrate on the coffin, implored, in the name of his guilty parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia, the forgiveneſs of the injured ſaint (58).

His death, A. D. 407, Septem. 14.

His relics tranſported to Conſtantinople, A. D. 438, January, 27

Yet a reaſonable doubt may be entertained, whether any ſtain of hereditary guilt could be derived from Arcadius to his ſucceſſor. Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who indulged her paſſions, and deſpiſed her huſband:

The death of Arcadius A. D. 408, May 1.

(56) His name was inſerted by his ſucceſſor Atticus in the Dyptics of the church of Conſtantinople, A. D. 418. Ten years afterwards he was revered as a ſaint. Cyril, who inherited the place, and the paſſions, of his uncle Theophilus, yielded with much reluctance. See Facund. Hermian. l. iv. c. 1. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xiv. p. 277—283.

(57) Socrates, l. vii. c. 45. Theodoret, l. v. c. 36. This event reconciled the Joannites, who had hitherto refuſed to acknowledge his ſucceſſors. During his lifetime, the Joannites were reſpected by the catholics, as the true and orthodox communion of Conſtantinople. Their obſtinacy gradually drove them to the brink of ſchiſm.

(58) According to ſome accounts (Baronius, Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 438. No. 9, 10.), the emperor was forced to ſend a letter of invitation and excuſes, before the body of the ceremonious ſaint could be moved from Comana.

huſband: Count John enjoyed, at leaſt, the familiar confidence of the empreſs; and the public named him as the real father of Theodoſius the younger (59). The birth of a ſon was accepted, however by the pious huſband, as an event the moſt fortunate and honourable to himſelf, to his family and to the eaſtern world: and the royal infant, by an unprecedented favour, was inveſted with the titles of Cæſar and Auguſtus. In leſs than four years afterwards, Eudoxia, in the bloom of youth, was deſtroyed by the conſequences of a miſcarriage; and this untimely death confounded the prophecy of a holy biſhop (60), who, amidſt the univerſal joy, had ventured to foretel, that ſhe ſhould behold the long and auſpicious reign of her glorious ſon. The catholics applauded the juſtice of heaven, which avenged the perſecution of St. Chryſoſtom; and perhaps the emperor was the only perſon who ſincerely bewailed the loſs of the haughty and rapacious Eudoxia. Such a domeſtic misfortune afflicted *him* more deeply than the public calamities of the Eaſt (61); the licentious excurſions, from Pontus to Paleſtine, of the Iſaurian robbers, whoſe impunity

(59) Zoſimus, l. v. p. 315. The chaſtity of an empreſs ſhould not be impeached without producing a witneſs; but it is aſtoniſhing that the witneſs ſhould write and live under a prince, whoſe legitimacy he dared to attack. We muſt ſuppoſe that his hiſtory was a party libel, privately read and circulated by the Pagans. Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. v. p. 782.) is not averſe to brand the reputation of Eudoxia.

(60) Porphyry of Gaza. His zeal was tranſported by the order which he had obtained for the deſtruction of eight Pagan temples of that city. See the curious details of his life (Baronius, A. D. 401. No. 17—51.) originally written in Greek, or perhaps in Syriac, by a monk, one of his favourite deacons.

(61) Philoſtorg. l. xi. c. 8. and Godefroy, Diſſertat. p. 457.

punity accuſed the weakneſs of the government; and the earthquakes, the conflagrations, the famine, and the flights of locuſts (62), which the popular diſcontent was equally diſpoſed to attribute to the incapacity of the monarch. At length in the thirty-firſt year of his age, after a reign (if we may abuſe that word) of thirteen years, three months, and fifteen days, Arcadius expired in the palace of Conſtantinople. It is impoſſible to delineate his character; ſince in a period very copiouſly furniſhed with hiſtorical materials, it has not been poſſible to remark one action that properly belongs to the ſon of the great Theodoſius.

His ſuppoſed teſtament.

The hiſtorian Procopius (63) has indeed illuminated the mind of the dying emperor with a ray of human prudence, or celeſtial wiſdom. Arcadius conſidered, with anxious foreſight, the helpleſs condition of his ſon Theodoſius, who was no more than ſeven years of age, the dangerous factions of a minority, and the aſpiring ſpirit of Jezdegerd, the Perſian monarch. Inſtead of tempting the allegiance of an ambitious ſubject, by the participation of ſupreme power, he boldly appealed to the magnanimity of a king; and placed, by a ſolemn teſtament, the ſceptre of the Eaſt in the hands of Jezdegerd himſelf. The royal guardian accepted and diſcharged this honourable truſt with unexampled

(62) Jerom (tom. vi. p. 73. 76.) deſcribes, in lively colours, the regular and deſtructive march of the locuſts, which ſpread a dark cloud between heaven and earth, over the land of Paleſtine. Seaſonable winds ſcattered them, partly into the Dead Sea, and partly into the Mediterranean.

(63) Procopius, de Bell. Perſic. l. i. c. 2. p. 8, edit. Louvre.

exampled fidelity; and the infancy of Theodoſius was protected by the arms and councils of Perſia. Such is the ſingular narrative of Procopius; and his veracity is not diſputed by Agathias 64), while he preſumes to diſſent from his judgment, and to arraign the wiſdom of a Chriſtian emperor, who, ſo raſhly, though ſo fortunately, committed his ſon and his dominions to the unknown faith of a ſtranger, a rival, and a heathen. At the diſtance of one hundred and fifty years, this political queſtion might be debated in the court of Juſtinian; but a prudent hiſtorian will refuſe to examine the *propriety*, till he has aſcertained the *truth*, of the teſtament of Arcadius. As it ſtands without a parallel in the hiſtory of the world, we may juſtly require, that it ſhould be atteſted by the poſitive and unanimous evidence of contemporaries. The ſtrange novelty of the event, which excites our diſtruſt, muſt have attracted their notice; and their univerſal ſilence annihilates the vain tradition of the ſucceeding age.

Adminiſtration of Anthemius, A. D. 408—415.

The maxims of Roman juriſprudence, if they could fairly be transferred from private property to public dominion, would have adjudged to the emperor Honorius the guardianſhip of his nephew, till he had attained, at leaſt, the fourteenth year of his age. But the weakneſs of Honorius, and the calamities of his reign, diſqualified him from proſecuting

(64) Agathias, l. iv. p. 136, 137. Although he confeſſes the prevalence of the tradition, he aſſerts, that Procopius was the firſt who had committed it to writing. Tillemont (Hiſt. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 597.) argues very ſenſibly on the merits of this fable. His criticiſm was not warped by any eccleſiaſtical authority: both Procopius and Agathias are half Pagans.

ſecuting this natural claim; and ſuch was the abſolute ſeparation of the two monarchies, both in intereſt and affection, that Conſtantinople would have obeyed, with leſs reluctance, the orders of the Perſian, than thoſe of the Italian, court. Under a prince, whoſe weakneſs is diſguiſed by the external ſigns of manhood and diſcretion, the moſt worthleſs favourites may ſecretly diſpute the empire of the palace; and dictate to ſubmiſſive provinces, the commands of a maſter, whom they direct and deſpiſe. But the miniſters of a child, who is incapable of arming them with the ſanction of the royal name, muſt acquire and exerciſe an independent authority. The great officers of the ſtate and army, who had been appointed before the death of Arcadius, formed an ariſtocracy, which might have inſpired them with the idea of a free republic; and the government of the eaſtern empire was fortunately aſſumed by the præfect Anthemius (65), who obtained, by his ſuperior abilities, a laſting aſcendant over the minds of his equals. The ſafety of the young emperor proved the merit and integrity of Anthemius; and his prudent firmneſs ſuſtained the force and reputation of an infant reign. Uldin, with a formidable hoſt of Barbarians, was encamped in the heart of Thrace: he proudly rejected all terms of accommo-

(65) Socrates, l. vii. c. 1. Anthemius was the grandſon of Philip, one of the miniſters of Conſtantius, and the grandfather of the emperor Anthemius. After his return from the Perſian embaſſy, he was appointed conſul and Prætorian præfect of the Eaſt, in the year 405; and held the præfecture about ten years. See his honours and praiſes in Godefroy, Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 350. Tillemont, Hiſt. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 1, &c.

dation; and pointing to the riſing ſun, declared to the Roman ambaſſadors, that the courſe of that planet ſhould alone terminate the conqueſts of the Huns. But the deſertion of his confederates, who were privately convinced of the juſtice and liberality of the Imperial miniſters, obliged Uldin to repaſs the Danube: the tribe of the Scyrri, which compoſed his rear-guard, was almoſt extirpated; and many thouſand captives were diſperſed, to cultivate, with ſervile labour, the fields of Aſia (66). In the midſt of the public triumph, Conſtantinople was protected by a ſtrong incloſure of new and more extenſive walls; the ſame vigilant care was applied to reſtore the fortifications of the Illyrian cities; and a plan was judiciouſly conceived, which, in the ſpace of ſeven years, would have ſecured the command of the Danube, by eſtabliſhing on that river a perpetual fleet of two hundred and fifty armed veſſels (67).

Character and Adminiſtration of Pulcheria, A. D. 414—453.

But the Romans had ſo long been accuſtomed to the authority of a monarch, that the firſt even among the females, of the Imperial family, who diſplayed any courage or capacity, was permitted to aſcend the vacant throne of Theodoſius. His ſiſter Pulcheria (68), who was only two years older than himſelf, received, at the age of ſixteen, the title

(66) Sozomen, l. ix. c. 5. He ſaw ſome Scyrri at work near Mount Olympus, in Bythinia, and cheriſhed the vain hope that thoſe captives were the laſt of the nation.

(67) Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xvii. l. xv. tit. 1. leg. 49.

(68) Sozomen has filled three chapters with a magnificent panegyric of Pulcheria (l. ix. c. 1. 2. 3.); and Tillemont (Memoires Eccleſ. tom. xv. p. 171—184.) has dedicated a ſeparate article to the honour of St. Pulcheria, virgin, and empreſs.

title of *Auguſta;* and though her favour might be ſometimes clouded by caprice or intrigue, ſhe continued to govern the Eaſtern empire near forty years; during the long minority of her brother, and after his death, in her own name, and in the name of Marcian, her nominal huſband. From a motive, either of prudence, or religion, ſhe embraced a life of celibacy; and notwithſtanding ſome aſperſions on the chaſtity of Pulcheria (69), this reſolution which ſhe communicated to her ſiſters Arcadia and Marina, was celebrated by the Chriſtian world, as the ſublime effort of heroic piety. In the preſence of the clergy and people, the three daughters of Arcadius (70) dedicated their virginity to God; and the obligation of their ſolemn vow was inſcribed on a tablet of gold and gems; which they publicly offered in the great church of Conſtantinople. Their palace was converted into a monaſtery; and all males, except the guides of their conſcience, the ſaints who had forgotten the diſtinction of ſexes, were ſcrupulouſly excluded from h holy treſhold. Pulcheria, her two ſiſters, and a choſen train of favourite damſels, formed a religious community: they renounced the vanity of dreſs; interrupted, by frequent faſts, their ſimple and frugal diet; allotted a portion of their time to works of

(69) Suidas (Excerpta, p. 68. in Script. Byzant.) pretends, on the credit of the Neſtorians, that Pulcheria was exaſperated againſt their founder, becauſe he cenſured her connection with the beautiful Paulinus, and her inceſt with her brother Theodoſius.

(70) See Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 70. Flaccilla the eldeſt daughter, either died before Arcadius, or, if *ſhe* lived till the year 431 (Marcellin. Chron.), ſome defect of mind or body muſt have excluded her from the honours of her rank.

of embroidery; and devoted ſeveral hours of the day and night to the exerciſes of prayer and pſalmody. The piety of a Chriſtian virgin was adorned by the zeal and liberality of an empreſs. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory deſcribes the ſplendid churches, which were built at the expence of Pulcheria, in all the provinces of the Eaſt; her charitable foundations for the benefit of ſtrangers and the poor; the ample donations which ſhe aſſigned for the perpetual maintenance of monaſtic ſocieties; and the active ſeverity with which ſhe laboured to ſuppreſs the oppoſite hereſies of Neſtorius and Eutyches. Such virtues were ſuppoſed to deſerve the peculiar favour of the Deity; and the relics of martyrs, as well as the knowledge of future events, were communicated in viſions and revelations to the Imperial ſaint (71). Yet the devotion of Pulcheria never diverted her indefatigable attention from temporal affairs; and ſhe alone, among all the deſcendants of the great Theodoſius, appears to have inherited any ſhare of his manly ſpirit and abilities. The elegant and familiar uſe which ſhe had acquired, both of the Greek and Latin languages, was readily applied to the various occaſions of ſpeaking, or writing on public buſineſs: her deliberations were maturely weighed;

(71) She was admoniſhed, by repeated dreams, of the place where the relics of the forty martyrs had been buried. The ground had ſucceſſively belonged to the houſe and garden of a woman of Conſtantinople, to a monaſtery of Macedonian monks, and to a church of St. Thyrſus, erected by Cæſarius, who was conſul A. D. 397: and the memory of the relics was almoſt obliterated. Notwithſtanding the charitable wiſhes of Dr. Jortin (Remarks, tom. iv. p. 234.), it is not eaſy to acquit Pulcheria of ſome ſhare in the pious fraud; which muſt have been tranſacted, when ſhe was more than five-and-thirty years of age.

weighed; her actions were prompt and deciſive; and whilſt ſhe moved without noiſe or oſtentation the wheel of government, ſhe diſcreetly attributed to the genius of the emperor, the long tranquillity of his reign. In the laſt years of his peaceful life, Europe was indeed afflicted by the arms of Attila; but the more extenſive provinces of Aſia ſtill continued to enjoy a profound and permanent repoſe. Theodoſius the younger was never reduced to the diſgraceful neceſſity of encountering and puniſhing a rebellious ſubject: and ſince we cannot applaud the vigour, ſome praiſe may be due to the mildneſs, and proſperity, of the adminiſtration of Pulcheria.

Education and character of Theodoſius the younger.

The Roman world was deeply intereſted in the education of its maſter. A regular courſe of ſtudy and exerciſe was judiciouſly inſtituted; of the military exerciſes of riding, and ſhooting with the bow; of the liberal ſtudies of grammar, rhetoric, and philoſophy: the moſt ſkilful maſters of the Eaſt ambitiouſly ſolicited the attention of their royal pupil; and ſeveral noble youths were introduced into the palace, to animate his dilligence by the emulation of frendſhip. Pulcheria alone diſcharged the important taſk of inſtructing her brother in the arts of government; but her precepts may countenance ſome ſuſpicion of the extent of her capacity, or of the purity of her intentions. She taught him to maintain a grave and majeſtic deportment; to walk, to hold his robes, to ſeat himſelf on his throne, in a manner worthy of a great prince; to abſtain from laughter; to liſten with condeſcenſion; to return ſuitable anſwers; to aſſume, by turns, a ſerious or a placid countenance; in a word, to

to repreſent with grace and dignity the external figure of a Roman emperor. But Theodoſius (72) was never excited to ſupport the weight and glory of an illuſtrious name; and, inſtead of aſpiring to imitate his anceſtors, he degenerated (if we may preſume to meaſure the degrees of incapacity) below the weakneſs of his father and his uncle. Arcadius and Honorius had been aſſiſted by the guardian care of a parent, whoſe leſſons were enforced by his authority, and example. But the unfortunate prince, who is born in the purple, muſt remain a ſtranger to the voice of truth; and the ſon of Arcadius was condemned to paſs his perpetual infancy, encompaſſed only by a ſervile train of women and eunuchs. The ample leiſure, which he acquired by neglecting the eſſential duties of his high office, was filled by idle amuſements, and unprofitable ſtudies. Hunting was the only active purſuit that could tempt him beyond the limits of the palace; but he moſt aſſiduouſly laboured, ſometimes by the light of a midnight lamp, in the mechanic occupations of painting and carving; and the elegance with which he tranſcribed religious books, entitled the Roman emperor to the ſingular epithet of *Calligraphes*,

(72) There is a remarkable difference between the two eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, who in general bear ſo cloſe a reſemblance. Sozomen (l. ix. c. 1.) aſcribes to Pulcheria the government of the empire, and the education of her brother; whom he ſcarcely condeſcends to praiſe. Socrates, though he affectedly diſclaims all hopes of favour or fame, compoſes an elaborate panegyric on the emperor, and cautiouſly ſuppreſſes the merits of his ſiſter (l. vii. 22. 42). Philoſtorgius (l. xii. c. 7.) expreſſes the influence of Pulcheria in gentle and courtly language, τας βασιλικας σημειωσεις υπηρετουμενη και διευθυνουσα. Suidas (Excerpt. p. 53.) gives a true character of Theodoſius; and I have followed the example of Tillemont (tom. vi. p. 25.), in borrowing ſome ſtrokes from the modern Greeks.

graphes, or a fair writer. Separated from the world by an impenetrable veil, Theodoſius truſted the perſons whom he loved; he loved thoſe who were accuſtomed to amuſe and flatter his indolence; and as he never peruſed the papers that were preſented for the royal ſignature, the acts of injuſtice the moſt repugnant to his character, were frequently perpetrated in his name. The emperor himſelf was chaſte, temperate, liberal, and merciful; but theſe qualities, which can only deſerve the name of virtues, when they are ſupported by courage, and regulated by diſcretion, were ſeldom beneficial, and they ſometimes proved miſchievous, to mankind. His mind, enervated by a royal education, was oppreſſed, and degraded, by abject ſuperſtition: he faſted, he ſung pſalms, he blindly accepted the miracles and doctrines, with which his faith was continually nouriſhed. Theodoſius devoutly worſhipped the dead and living ſaints of the Catholic church; and he once refuſed to eat, till an inſolent monk, who had caſt an excommunication on his ſovereign, condeſcended to heal the ſpiritual wound which he had inflicted (73).

Character and adventures of the empreſs Eudocia, A. D. 421—460.

The ſtory of a fair and virtuous maiden, exalted from a private condition to the Imperial throne, might be deemed an incredible romance, if ſuch a romance had not been verified in the marriage of Theodoſius. The celebrated Athenais (74) was educated by her

(73) Theodoret, l. v. c. 37. The biſhop of Cyrrhus, one of the firſt men of his age for his learning and piety, applauds the obedience of Theodoſius to the divine laws.

(74) Socrates (l. vii. c. 21.) mentions her name (Athenais, the daughter of Leontius an Athenian ſophiſt), her baptiſm, marriage, and

her father Leontius in the religion and ſciences of the Greeks; and ſo advantageous was the opinion which the Athenian philoſopher entertained of his contemporaries, that he divided his patrimony between his two ſons, bequeathing to his daughter a ſmall legacy of one hundred pieces of gold, in the lively confidence that her beauty and merit would be a ſufficient portion. The jealouſy and avarice of her brothers ſoon compelled Athenais to ſeek a refuge at Conſtantinople; and with ſome hopes, either of juſtice, or favour, to throw herſelf at the feet of Pulcheria. That ſagacious princeſs liſtened to her eloquent complaint; and ſecretly deſtined the daughter of the philoſopher Leontius for the future wife of the emperor of the Eaſt, who had now attained the twentieth year of his age. She eaſily excited the curioſity of her brother, by an intereſting picture of the charms of Athenais; large eyes, a well-proportioned noſe, a fair complexion, golden locks, a ſlender perſon, a graceful demeanour, an underſtanding improved by ſtudy, and a virtue tried by diſtreſs. Theodoſius, concealed behind a curtain in the apartment of his ſiſter, was permitted to behold the Athenian virgin; the modeſt youth immediately declared his pure and honourable love; and

and poetical genius. The moſt ancient account of her hiſtory is in John Malala (part ii. p. 20, 21. edit. Venet. 1733), and in the Paſchal Chronicle (p. 311, 312). Thoſe authors had probably ſeen original pictures of the empreſs Eudocia. The modern Greeks, Zonaras, Cedrenus, &c. have diſplayed the love, rather than the talent of fiction. From Nicephorus, indeed, I have ventured to aſſume her age. The writer of a romance would not have *imagined*, that Athenais was near twenty-eight years old when ſhe inflamed the heart of a young emperor.

and the royal nuptials were celebrated amidſt the acclamations of the capital and the provinces. Athenais, who was eaſily perſuaded to renounce the errors of Paganiſm, received at her baptiſm the Chriſtian name of Eudocia; but the cautious Pulcheria withheld the title of Auguſta, till the wife of Theodoſius had approved her fruitfulneſs by the birth of a daughter, who eſpouſed, fifteen years afterwards, the emperor of the Weſt. The brothers of Eudocia obeyed, with ſome anxiety, her Imperial ſummons; but, as ſhe could eaſily forgive their fortunate unkindneſs, ſhe indulged the tenderneſs, or perhaps the vanity, of a ſiſter, by promoting them to the rank of conſuls and præfects. In the luxury of the palace, ſhe ſtill cultivated thoſe ingenuous arts, which had contributed to her greatneſs; and wiſely dedicated her talents to the honour of religion, and of her huſband. Eudocia compoſed a poetical paraphraſe of the firſt eight books of the Old Teſtament, and of the prophecies of Daniel and Zacharia; a cento of the verſes of Homer, applied to the life and miracles of Chriſt, the legend of St. Cyprian, and a panegyric on the Perſian victories of Theodoſius: and her writings, which were applauded by a ſervile and ſuperſtitious age, have not been diſdained by the candour of Impartial criticiſm (75). The

(75) Socrates, l. vii. c. 21. Photius, p. 413—420. The Homeric cento is ſtill extant, and has been repeatedly printed; but the claim of Eudocia to that inſipid performance is diſputed by the critics. See Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. i. p. 357. The *Ionia*, a miſcellaneous dictionary of hiſtory and fable, was compiled by another empreſs of the name of Eudocia, who lived in the eleventh century; and the work is ſtill extant in manuſcript.

The fondneſs of the emperor was not abated by time and poſſeſſion; and Eudocia, after the marriage of her daughter, was permitted to diſcharge her greatful vows by a ſolemn pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. Her oſtentatious progreſs through the Eaſt may ſeem inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of Chriſtian humility: ſhe pronounced, from a throne of gold and gems, an eloquent oration to the ſenate of Antioch, declared her royal intention of enlarging the walls of the city, beſtowed a donative of two hundred pounds of gold to reſtore the public baths, and accepted the ſtatues, which were decreed by the gratitude of Antioch. In the Holy Land, her alms and pious foundations exceeded the munificence of the great Helena; and though the public treaſure might be impoveriſhed by this exceſſive liberality, ſhe enjoyed the conſcious ſatisfaction of returning to Conſtantinople with the chains of St. Peter, the right arm of St. Stephen, and an undoubted picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke (76). But this pilgrimage was the fatal term of the glories of Eudocia. Satiated with empty pomp, and unmindful, perhaps, of her obligations to Pulcheria, ſhe ambitiouſly aſpired to the government of the Eaſtern empire: the palace was diſtracted by female diſcord; but the victory was at laſt decided, by the ſuperior aſcendant of the ſiſter of Theodoſius. The execution of Paulinus, maſter of the offices, and the diſgrace of Cyrus, Prætorian præfect of the Eaſt, convinced the public, that the favour of Eudocia was inſufficient to protect her moſt faithful friends; and the uncommon beauty of

(76) Baronius. (Annal Eccleſ. A. D. 438, 439.) is copious and florid; but he is accuſed of placing the lies of different ages on the ſame level of authenticity.

of Paulinus encouraged the ſecret rumour, that his guilt was that of a ſucceſsful lover (77). As ſoon as the empreſs perceived that the affection of Theodoſius was irretrievably loſt, ſhe requeſted the permiſſion of retiring to the diſtant ſolitude of Jeruſalem. She obtained her requeſt; but the jealouſy of Theodoſius, or the vindictive ſpirit of Pulcheria, purſued her in her laſt retreat; and Saturninus, count of the domeſtics, was directed to puniſh with death two eccleſiaſtics, her moſt favoured ſervants. Eudocia inſtantly revenged them by the aſſaſſination of the count: the furious paſſions, which ſhe indulged on this ſuſpicious occaſion, ſeemed to juſtify the ſeverity of Theodoſius; and the empreſs, ignominiouſly ſtript of the honours of her rank (78), was diſgraced, perhaps unjuſtly, in the eyes of the world. The remainder of the life of Eudocia, about ſixteen years, was ſpent in exile and devotion; and the approach of age, the death of Theodoſius, the misfortunes of her only daughter, who was lead a captive from Rome to Carthage, and the ſociety of the Holy Monks of Paleſtine, inſenſibly confirmed the religious temper of her mind. After a full experience of the viciſſitudes of human life, the daughter of the philoſopher Leontius expired, at Jeruſalem, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of her age; proteſting with her dying

(77) In this ſhort view of the diſgrace of Eudocia, I have imitated the caution of Evagrius (l. i. c. 21.), and count Marcellinus (in Chron. A. D. 440 and 444). The two authentic dates aſſigned by the latter, overturn a great part of the Greek fictions; and the celebrated ſtory of the *apple*, &c. is fit only for the Arabian Nights, where ſomething not very unlike it may be found.

(78) Priſcus (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 69.), a contemporary, and a courtier, dryly mentions her Pagan and Chriſtian names, without adding any title of honour or reſpect.

dying breath, that ſhe had never tranſgreſſed the bounds of innocence and friendſhip (79).

The Perſian war, A. D. 422.

The gentle mind of Theodoſius was never inflamed by the ambition of conqueſt, or military renown; and the ſlight alarm of a Perſian war ſcarcely interrupted the tranquillity of the Eaſt. The motives of this war were juſt and honourable. In the laſt year of the reign of Jezdegerd, the ſuppoſed guardian of Theodoſius, a biſhop, who aſpired to the crown of martyrdom, deſtroyed one of the fire-temples of Suſa (80). His zeal and obſtinacy were revenged on his brethren: the Magi excited a cruel perſecution; and the intolerant zeal of Jezdegerd was imitated by his ſon Vararanes, or Bahram, who ſoon afterwards aſcended the throne. Some Chriſtian fugitives, who eſcaped to the Roman frontier, were ſternly demanded, and generouſly refuſed; and the refuſal, aggravated by commercial diſputes, ſoon kindled a war between the rival monarchies. The mountains of Armenia, and the plains of Meſopotamia, were filled with hoſtile armies; but the operation of two ſucceſſive campaigns were

(79) For the *two* pilgrimages of Eudocia, and her long reſidence at Jeruſalem, her devotion, alms, &c. ſee Socrates (l. vii. c. 47.) and Evagrius (l. i. c. 20, 21, 22). The Paſchal Chronicle may ſometimes deſerve regard; and, in the domeſtic hiſtory of Antioch, John Malala becomes a writer of good authority. The Abbé Guenée, in a memoir on the fertility of Paleſtine, of which I have only ſeen an extract, calculates the gifts of Eudocia at 20,488 pounds of gold, above 800,000 pounds Sterling.

(80) Theodoret, l. v. c. 39. Tillemont, Mem. Eccleſ. tom. xii. p. 356—364. Aſſemanni, Bibl. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 396. tom. iv. p. 61. Theodoret blames the raſhneſs of Abdas, but extols the conſtancy of his martyrdom. Yet I do not clearly underſtand the caſuiſtry which prohibits our repairing the damage which we have unlawfully committed.

were not productive of any decisive or memorable events. Some engagements were fought, some towns were besieged, with various and doubtful success; and if the Romans failed in their attempt to recover the long lost possession of Nisibis, the Persians were repulsed from the walls of a Mesopotamian city, by the valour of a martial bishop, who pointed his thundering engine in the name of St. Thomas the Apostle. Yet the splendid victories which the incredible speed of the messenger Palladius repeatedly announced to the palace of Constantinople, were celebrated with festivals and panegyrics. From these panegyrics the historians (81) of the age might borrow their extraordinary, and, perhaps, fabulous, tales; of the proud challenge of a Persian hero, who was entangled by the net, and dispatched by the sword, of Areobindus the Goth; of the ten thousand *Immortals*, who were slain in the attack of the Roman camp; and of the hundred thousand Arabs, or Saracens, who were impelled by a panic terror to throw themselves headlong into the Euphrates. Such events may be disbelieved, or disregarded; but the charity of a bishop, Acacius of Amida, whose name might have dignified the saintly calendar, shall not be lost in oblivion. Boldly declaring, that vases of gold and silver are useless to a God who neither eats nor drinks, the generous prelate sold the plate of the church of Amida; employed the

(81) Socrates (l. vii. c. 18, 19, 20, 21.) is the best author for the Persian war. We may likewise consult the three Chronicles the Paschal, and those of Marcellinus and Malala.

the price in the redemption of ſeven thouſand Perſian captives; ſupplied their wants with affectionate liberality; and diſmiſſed them to their native country, to inform their king of the true ſpirit of the religion which he perſecuted. The practice of benevolence in the midſt of war muſt always tend to aſſuage the animoſity of contending nations; and I wiſh to perſuade myſelf, that Acacius contributed to the reſtoration of peace. In the conference which was held on the limits of the two empires, the Roman ambaſſadors degraded the perſonal character of their ſovereign, by a vain attempt to magnify the extent of his power; when they ſeriouſly adviſed the Perſians to prevent, by a timely accommodation, the wrath of a monarch, who was yet ignorant of this diſtant war. A truce of one hundred years was ſolemnly ratified; and although the revolutions of Armenia might threaten the public tranquillity, the eſſential conditions of this treaty were reſpected near fourſcore years by the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine and Artaxerxes.

Armenia divided between the Perſians and the Romans, A. D. 431—440

Since the Roman and Parthian ſtandards firſt encountered on the banks of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Armenia (82) was alternately oppreſſed by its formidable protectors; and, in the courſe of this Hiſtory, ſeveral events, which

(82) This account of the ruin and diviſion of the kingdom of Armenia is taken from the third book of the Armenian hiſtory of Moſes of Chorene. Deficient as he is in every qualification of a good hiſtorian, his local information, his paſſions, and his prejudices, are ſtrongly expreſſive of a native and contemporary. Procopius (de Edificiis, l. iii. c. 1. 5.) relates the ſame facts in a very different manner; but I have extracted the circumſtances the moſt probable in themſelves, and the leaſt inconſiſtent with Moſes of Chorene.

which inclined the balance of peace and war, have been already related. A diſgraceful treaty had reſigned Armenia to the ambition of Sapor; and the ſcale of Perſia appeared to preponderate. But the royal race of Arſaces impatiently ſubmitted to the houſe of Saſſan; the turbulent nobles aſſerted, or betrayed, their hereditary independence; and the nation was ſtill attached to the *Chriſtian* princes of Conſtantinople. In the beginning of the fifth century, Armenia was divided by the progreſs of war and faction (83); and the unnatural diviſion precipitated the downfal of that ancient monarchy. Choſroes, the Perſian vaſſal, reigned over the Eaſtern and moſt extenſive portion of the country; while the Weſtern province acknowledged the juriſdiction of Arſaces, and the ſupremacy of the emperor Arcadius. After the death of Arſaces, the Romans ſuppreſſed the regal government, and impoſed on their allies the condition of ſubjects. The military command was delegated to the count of the Armenian frontier; the city of Theodoſiopolis (84) was built and fortified in a ſtrong ſituation, on a fertile and lofty ground, near

(83) The weſtern Armenians uſed the Greek language and characters in their religious offices; but the uſe of that hoſtile tongue was prohibited by the Perſians in the eaſtern provinces, which were obliged to uſe the Syriac, till the invention of the Armenian letters by Meſrobes, in the beginning of the fifth century, and the ſubſequent verſion of the Bible into the Armenian language; an event which relaxed the connection of the church and nation with Conſtantinople.

(84) Moſes Choren. l. iii. c. 59. p. 309. and p. 358. Procopius, de Edificiis, l. iii. c. 5. Theodoſiopolis ſtands, or rather ſtood, about thirty-five miles to the eaſt of Arzeroum, the modern capital of Turkiſh Armenia. See d'Anville, Geographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 99, 100.

the ſources of the Euphrates; and the dependent territories were ruled by five ſatraps, whoſe dignity was marked by a peculiar habit of gold and purple. The leſs fortunate nobles, who lamented the loſs of their king, and envied the honours of their equals, were provoked to negociate their peace and pardon at the Perſian court; and returning, with their followers, to the palace of Artaxata, acknowledged Choſroes for their lawful ſovereign. About thirty years afterwards, Artaſires, the nephew and ſucceſſor of Choſroes, fell under the diſpleaſure of the haughty and capricious nobles of Armenia; and they unanimouſly deſired a Perſian governor in the room of an unworthy king. The anſwer of the archbiſhop Iſaac, whoſe ſanction they earneſtly ſolicited, is expreſſive of the character of a ſuperſtitious people. He deplored the manifeſt and inexcuſable vices of Artaſires; and declared, that he ſhould not heſitate to accuſe him before the tribunal of a Chriſtian emperor, who would puniſh, without deſtroying, the ſinner. "Our king," continued Iſaac, "is too much addicted to licentious pleaſures, but he has been purified in the holy waters of baptiſm. He is a lover of women, but he does not adore the fire or the elements. He may deſerve the reproach of lewdneſs, but he is an undoubted Catholic; and his faith is pure, though his manners are flagitious. I will never conſent to abandon my ſheep to the rage of devouring wolves; and you would ſoon repent your raſh exchange of the infirmities of a believer, for the ſpe-

"cious

" cious virtues of an heathen (85)." Exaſperated by the firmneſs of Iſaac, the factious nobles accuſed both the king and the archbiſhop as the ſecret adherents of the emperor; and abſurdly rejoiced in the ſentence of condemnation, which, after a partial hearing, was ſolemnly pronounced by Bahram himſelf. The deſcendants of Arſaces were degraded from the royal dignity (86); which they had poſſeſſed above five hundred and ſixty years (87); and the dominions of the unfortunate Artaſires, under the new and ſignificant appellation of Perſarmenia, were reduced into the form of a province. This uſurpation excited the jealouſy of the Roman government; but the riſing diſputes were ſoon terminated by an amicable, though unequal, partition of the ancient kingdom of Armenia; and a territorial acquiſition, which Auguſtus might have deſpiſed, reflected ſome luſtre on the declining empire of the younger Theodoſius.

(85) Moſes Choren. l. iii. c. 63. p. 316. According to the inſtitution of St. Gregory the apoſtle of Armenia, the archbiſhop was always of the royal family; a circumſtance which in ſome degree, corrected the influence of the ſacerdotal character, and united the mitre with the crown.

(86) A branch of the royal houſe of Arſaces ſtill ſubſiſted, with the rank and poſſeſſions (as it ſhould ſeem) of Armenian ſatraps. See Moſes Choren. l. iii. c. 65. p. 321.

(87) Valarſaces was appointed king of Armenia by his brother the Parthian monarch, immediately after the defeat of Antiochus Sidetes (Moſes Choren. l. ii. c. 2. p. 85.), one hundred and thirty years before Chriſt. Without depending on the various and contradictory periods of the reigns of the laſt kings, we may be aſſured, that the ruin of the Armenian kingdom, happened after the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 431 (l. iii. c 61. p. 312.); and under Veramus, or Bahram, king of Perſia (l. iii. c. 64. p. 317.), who reigned from A. D. 420 to 440. See Aſſemanni, Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 396.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.


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